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THE ART BULLETIN

SEPTEMBER 1957

The Virgin and Child in French Fourteenth Century Sculpture: A Method of Classification	WILLIAM H. FORSYTH	171
A Reconstructed Panel by Fra Angelico and Some New Evidence for the Chronology of his Work	CARMEN GÓMEZ-MORENO	183
Ribera and the Blind Men	DELPHINE FITZ DARBY	195
NOTES		
A Pyramus and Thisbe Bowl in the Princeton Museum	JOSEFA WEITZMANN-FIEDLER	219
Stained Glass and Imitation Gems	JAMES R. JOHNSON	221
Rembrandt, Callot, and Tobias Stimmer	RACHEL WISCHNITZER	224
The Iconographical Background of Quarles' "Flesh" and "Spirit"	JOHN M. STEADMAN	231
BOOK REVIEWS		
Friedrich Matz, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Kunst, I, Die geometrische und die früharchaische Form</i>	GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN	233
D. S. Rice, <i>The Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library</i>	OLEG GRABAR	240
Alan Gowans, <i>Church Architecture in New France</i>	GÉRARD MORISSET	242
Henry V. S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden, <i>English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century</i>	MARCUS WHIFFEN	243
Yvonne Hackenbroch, <i>Meissen and Other Continental Porcelain, Faience and Enamel in the Irwin Untermeyer Collection; Chelsea and Other English Porcelain, Pottery and Enamel in the Irwin Untermeyer Collection; Siegfried Ducret, Unknown Porcelain of the 18th Century</i>	JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE	245
LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED		249

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THE VIRGIN AND CHILD IN FRENCH FOURTEENTH CENTURY SCULPTURE

A METHOD OF CLASSIFICATION*

WILLIAM H. FORSYTH

THE field of fourteenth century French sculpture is still relatively unexplored. It is natural that attempts at classifying it have been primarily concerned with statues of the Virgin and Child because of their overwhelming numbers.¹ It is also natural that students have taken the sculpture of the Ile-de-France as the norm since undoubtedly it formed the most influential single school in France.² The writer has found, however, that reversing the approach and starting with sculpture in the provinces clarifies many points. The wealth and complexities of sculpture associated with Paris and her royal ateliers makes more difficult a clear understanding of their evolution and development.³ In the provinces styles are simpler and more easily studied than in the region immediately around the Ile-de-France.

Studies "dans le cadre régional," to use Mme Lefrançois-Pillion's phrase, are not only useful to determine the extent and significance of regional styles but also to test their relative independence by comparing them to sculpture in the Ile-de-France and in other provinces. Such comparative studies can throw light on the extent of influence the royal ateliers had upon each region. Royal and princely commands could cut across provincial borders. Wanderlust as well as the lure of lucrative commissions also encouraged sculptors to migrate from province to province.

Mediaeval Paris, the heart of the royal domain, has been compared to Constantinople.⁴ Both were great centers of artistic activity. Both exercised tremendous influence upon the art of their times and attracted to their busy ateliers many artists who must have brought new ideas with them. Consequently, the Ile-de-France, including Paris with its royal ateliers, may have both received influences from the provinces and been a source of inspiration to them.

A number of statues of the Virgin in the provinces are very likely the products of royal ateliers

* This article began as a review of Claude Schaefer's book *La sculpture en ronde-bosse au XIV^e siècle dans le duché de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1954. In its present form it has been impossible to do justice to Schaefer's important work. However, I want to acknowledge the frank and generous spirit with which he has shared his ideas with me by letter during the more than twenty years that we both have worked in the field. I have tried to reciprocate.

I should like to acknowledge the following sources for the photographs, most of which were taken before 1939:

Figs. 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18 and 19 the Archives Photographiques in Paris

Figs. 6, 9, 13, 23, 24, 25 and 26 the Archiv Foto Marburg

Figs. 1 and 20 the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figs. 2 and 14 M. Claude Schaefer

Fig. 3 the City Art Museum, St. Louis

Fig. 27 the Bildarchiv, Rheinisches Museum, Cologne

Fig. 15 and 17 M. Jean Séguin

Fig. 21 through Mlle Anne Paillard

Fig. 22 the Archives de la Marne

Fig. 7 Dr. E. Stoedtner, Düsseldorf

1. Raymond Koechlin made pioneer attempts at such classification. See "La sculpture du XIV^e et du XV^e siècle dans la région de Troyes," *Congrès Archéologique de France . . . à Troyes et Provins en 1902, 1903*, pp. 239-272; "Essai de classement chronologique d'après la forme de leur man-

teau des Vierges du XIV^e siècle debout, portant l'Enfant," *Actes du Congrès d'Histoire de l'Art: Paris, 26 Septembre-5 Octobre 1921*, II, part 2, Paris, 1924, pp. 490-496; and *Les ivoires gothiques français*, Paris, 1924, I, pp. 92-115. See also Johanna Heinrich, *Die Entwicklung der Madonnenstatue in der Skulptur Nordfrankreichs von 1250 bis 1350*, Leipzig, 1933, and the helpful study by Madame Louise Lefrançois-Pillion, "Les statues de la Vierge à l'Enfant dans la sculpture française au XIV^e siècle," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1935, pp. 129-149 and pp. 204-226 (hereafter referred to as Lefrançois-Pillion).

2. Lefrançois-Pillion, especially pp. 130-143, 204-216.

3. Paul Vitry and Gaston Brière, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Denis*, Paris, 1948. Pierre Pradel, "Les tombeaux de Charles V," *Bulletin Monumental*, 1951, pp. 273-296; *idem*, "Les tombiers françaises en Angleterre au XIV^e siècle," (Offprint from *Société nationale des antiquaires de France* [1952?]), pp. 235-243; *idem*, "Notes sur la vie et les oeuvres du sculpteur Jean de Liège," *L'art mosan*, Paris, 1953, pp. 217-219. The studies of the royal tomb effigies at Saint-Denis and allied monuments, carried out by Vitry, Brière, Pradel, and others, have demonstrated the generally high quality of the work done under royal patronage and help provide a valuable chronological reference.

4. This comparison was first suggested to me by the late Professor Albert M. Friend, Jr., of Princeton.

working in Paris or migrating.⁵ Other statues are rustic variations of Parisian models. Still others are often too good in quality to be classed as rustic yet sufficiently different from sculpture of the Ile-de-France to be classified as work of the royal ateliers. The division of fourteenth century sculpture into these three categories is the difficult but essential task yet to be accomplished. A method of classification by groupings is the main concern of this paper. Although this method has the advantage of helping to establish and to relate groups of statues within each of these categories, it is here restricted to the last.

I

Therefore, in studying variations between different groups of statues of the Virgin and Child, it seems profitable to investigate to what extent these are peculiar to different regions and to what extent they are common to more than one region. The more widespread the iconography, the more it probably represents a common tradition and the greater chance there is that it has a direct connection with the Ile-de-France. Thus there can hardly be a regional or a group significance in the common iconography of the Virgin holding a scepter in her right hand. However, there are variations of this theme, such as the flowering stalk of roses, carried by a number of groups of statues in Burgundy, Champagne, and other regions of eastern France (Fig. 13).⁶ The theme, therefore, is especially common to eastern France and can be useful in helping to localize sculpture there when there are other corroborating motifs. However, groups cannot be formed by using just this motif as a basis for classification since such flowering rose twigs are sometimes carried by the Virgin in other regions.⁷ A stalk of flowering iris is sometimes carried by the Virgin in a group of statues in Burgundy (Fig. 2) and it is occasionally found in Lorraine.⁸ It too can be a helpful clue of origin, but only with other evidence. Scepters are often restored and therefore must be referred to with caution. Another motif common to eastern France yet

5. For example Mme Lefrançois-Pillion, p. 42, cites the *Virgin* at Muneville-le-Bingard, Normandy, as given by a clerk of Jeanne d'Evreux to his village church. The statue resembles others found near the Ile-de-France and is unlike others in Normandy. Raymond Koechlin, *Ivoires . . .*, followed by Louis Grodecki, *Ivoires français*, Paris, 1947, pp. 70-74, and J. Natanson, *Gothic Ivories of the 13th and 14th Centuries*, London, 1951, stresses the importance of ivory carvings made in Paris and widely exported. Some of these may have served as models for provincial sculpture such as the seated wood *Virgin* from St.-Jean-les-Bonnes-Hommes, near Avallon and now in the treasury of Sens Cathedral (Schaefer, *La Sculpture en ronde-bosse . . .* [hereafter referred to as Schaefer], p. 71 and plate 5), but it is difficult in most cases to admit the priority of ivory carvers who followed the models of their day and were usually content to imitate each other in countless repetition of the same models.

6. Examples are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, from Epinal (Vosges), at Saint-Claude (Jura), the Museum of Lyon (Rhône), Dommarien (Hte.-Marne), at Avignon (Saint-Agricole), one formerly in the collection of the late Baron Cassel von Doorn (Avignon style), another formerly in the Paris art market in the style of Lorraine, another formerly in the New York art market in the style of Lorraine, and Saint-Agnan (Yonne). Examples from the 15th and 16th centuries are in the Avallon Museum (Yonne), the Autun Museum (Saône-et-Loire), Laizy (near Autun), Assencières (Aube), Troyes (Hôtel-Dieu and Madeleine), Aubeterre (Aube) (restored?), The Cluny Museum (Burgundian, Cat. no. 657), Ecouves (Meurthe-et-Moselle), Boissy-la-Châtel (Seine-et-Marne), the Cluny Museum (from Breuil [Marne], style of Champagne, Cat. no. 705), Vézelize (Meurthe-et-Moselle): Private Collection, Provins (Seine-et-Marne), style of Champagne, and Coussegrey (Aube), Bar-sur-Aube (Aube),

Bergère (Aube), all in the style of Champagne.

A single wild rose is carried by the Virgin in statues at Engente (Aube), Museum of Amiens (Maignan collection), in a Marseille collection (from Amiens), and in the Brummer Auction sale of May 1949, Part II, no. 592. In these last three examples, in the style of eastern France, the Virgin presents the blossom to the Child, who touches it. The iconography is related to that of the rose blossom which the Child carries in Lorraine Madonnas in the Museums of Boston (see above) and New York. See W. H. Forsyth, "Mediaeval Statues of the Virgin in Lorraine related in type to the Saint-Dié Virgin," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, v, part 2, September 1936, p. 238. The Child also carries several roses in the Marcoussis *Virgin* (Seine-et-Oise). These Lorraine Virgins may have also carried flowering scepters, but they have almost all been broken off. In fact so many of the scepters carried by the Virgin in statues throughout France are missing or restored that their reconstruction is difficult. In many cases, however, enough remains to indicate that the scepter was usually not a rose branch. In a great many ivory carvings the Virgin carries a single rose. In a smaller number of late 14th century ivories she carries a branch of roses. See Koechlin, *Ivoires*. A number of these later ivories have the facial fullness and dynamic posture typical of Burgundy and other regions of eastern France.

7. For example, in the Louvre (from Maisoncelles [Seine-et-Marne]) and in some Virgin statues of Normandy. See Fig. 17.

8. Examples are at Longuyon (Meurthe-et-Moselle), in the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Beaune (possibly from the Abbey of Fontenay), another formerly in the Roybet Collection and said to come from the Abbey of Royaumont, and another from the Canessa Collection in the style of Lorraine.

also found elsewhere is the bird which the Christ Child holds by its wings (Figs. 13, 22).⁹

When a variation of a Madonna type belongs to a region because of a number of motifs commonly found in statues there, it seems fair to speak of it as a regional group.¹⁰ When a number of groups in the same region are all more or less related to each other, it seems logical to assume: (1) that a series of related workshops produced them, and (2) that these workshops probably were either native to the region or at least active there for some time. On the other hand, a single group of statues without regional connections could have been the work of a migrant workshop. The greater the number of related statues there are in one region, the less the probability that they were all imported. Therefore, to repeat, the first task of classification, in the opinion of the writer, is to determine which statues and groups of statues seem to center in certain regions and which seem to be inter-regional. Such regional classifications, let it again be emphasized, do not imply either that the groups are free of outside influence or that the prototypes of the groups could not have been produced by royal ateliers.¹¹

In the present state of knowledge it is perhaps wiser to avoid radical conclusions and resolutely to maintain an open mind by refusing to treat the cross-webbing of styles as, on the one hand, nothing but direct emanations from the royal ateliers without any regional significance or, on the other hand, as completely independent. Both extreme positions are probably false. Certainly further studies seem justified "dans le cadre régional."

Such an open-minded attitude will permit a fairer assessment of the question of the existence of provincial groups and of their relative value and will lead to a clearer later evaluation of the relative importance of the part the royal schools played in the development of sculpture in each region.

II

Some further instances of regional groups may now serve to illustrate these generalizations. Greater emphasis is here given to characteristic motifs than to styles simply because they are easier to differentiate and not because stylistic variations are not also important. Indeed such regional motifs by themselves are not enough to characterize different regions unless they are accompanied by parallel stylistic variations.

In a number of statues of the Virgin and Child in southwestern France, the Virgin's drapery falls in complicated columnar folds. She wears a very large and elaborate pectoral brooch which resembles the morsers used to fasten liturgical copes and she carries the Child facing frontally with one leg crossed over the other in curious fashion.¹²

The Virgin in Normandy often has an open mantle hanging free from the shoulders and not

9. The Child with a bird is almost as common as the Virgin holding the scepter, but most statues in which the wings are spread out seem to come from eastern France. Mme Lefrançois-Pillion, p. 216, has correctly observed that the bird tends to get larger the farther one gets from the Ile-de-France. See also Schaefer, pp. 49, 50. In the *Sens Virgin* (Fig. 19) the bird is a restoration.

10. While perhaps Mme Lefrançois-Pillion, p. 216, may underestimate the value of "local work," one can largely agree with many of her conclusions, for example: "But outside of accidental relationships, can one establish more important and organic groupings; are there local or regional families, if not schools? I had commenced this study convinced of a negative answer to this question; I terminate it with an entirely different feeling. However, let us not mistake ourselves. It is not less evident that the classic type, the purest type, let us call it without much chance of error, the 'Parisian' type, is found from one end of the land to the other and beyond the frontiers. But in almost every region and especially as one gets farther from the Ile-de-France, this type exists

along with local work which, while often less beautiful than imported work or copies, has the advantage over them of flavor and originality."

11. Mlle Michèle Beaulieu, "Chronique," *Bulletin Monumental*, 1956, CXIV, pp. 59-60, fears that my method of groupings, if carried too far without reference to the royal ateliers, may lose significance. I am therefore glad to correct here the impression which others may also have received that I intend to overlook these ateliers.

12. Some of the examples from southern France are in the Cathedral of Narbonne, at Portal (carved after model of Narbonne Madonna, nearby) in the Museum of Toulouse (Hte.-Garonne), at Lavalette (Aude), and at Montpezat-de-Quercy (Tarn-et-Garonne). In Catalonia a few of the many statues which could be cited are in Manresa Cathedral and in Barcelona (on doorway of El Pino and in lower court of las Monjas). See Ainaud, Gudiol, and Verrié, *La Ciudad de Barcelona*, Madrid, 1947, figs. 676, 678, 825, etc. See also Lefrançois-Pillion, pp. 217-218.

drawn across the front of the body in the customary fashion of the period (Figs. 15, 16, 17). In other groups too throughout France the Virgin sometimes wears an open mantle (Figs. 2-5).¹³ However, in the Norman version the Virgin holds up one side of the mantle in her right hand, sometimes gathering part of the material in a small, loose ball.¹⁴ In Normandy one finds this way of wearing the mantle combined with a peculiar side twist of the body above the waistline quite different from the supple curve which the Virgin's body usually makes in French fourteenth century sculpture associated with the Ile-de-France. Added to these features is the unusual Norman way of holding the Child rather high against one shoulder with the fingers of the Virgin's supporting hand often held in a vertical position against the Child.¹⁵ Sometimes too in Normandy the Child holds the end of the Virgin's long girdle in both hands, placing it beneath one of his feet as if it were a stirrup.¹⁶

The statues of some regions are more easily differentiated than those of others. The points to bear in mind are not only the degree of differences but also the fact that such differences exist. In the provinces closest to the seat of royal power are naturally to be found the statues closest in style and type to those of the Ile-de-France and conversely the most divergent types are usually found in those regions farthest from Paris. Regional differences, however slight, imply also at least some regional variations of style. These variations in a number of instances may have been local interpretations originally dependent upon the royal ateliers.

III

Some of the advantages and difficulties of grouping regional sculpture are illustrated in Claude Schaefer's book on fourteenth century sculpture in Burgundy which was referred to at the beginning of this article. Using almost entirely statues of the Virgin and Child, the author of this stimulating and provocative study seeks "to distinguish the different Burgundian ateliers of the fourteenth century." He not only expressly disavows an attempt to prove the existence of a separate school of sculpture in Burgundy but also declares that he is concerned with sculpture in Burgundy and not with Burgundian sculpture. This caution is generally laudable. Nevertheless, Schaefer's presentation of a number of groupings demonstrates beyond a doubt the existence of Burgundian ateliers working in the region and Schaefer himself refers to such Burgundian ateliers. Regardless of the place of origin of these workshops or what influences they absorbed, their work shows regional characteristics. Schaefer's method, which I have previously used and found to be sound, is to cite and to describe in detail certain key statues and to trace their influence, their "rayonnement" as he calls it, upon other statues in the region. Parisian influence was undoubtedly at work through direct importation and through provincial imitation as Schaefer points out. Nevertheless, there is a wealth of material in Burgundy which is neither a direct imitation nor a rustic variation of Parisian work.

Throughout his book, Schaefer makes a number of telling references to such Burgundian characteristics, as the "visage arrondi." The double chin and puffy cheeks of the Virgin in many Bur-

13. See Koechlin references in note 1 above. He published a number in Champagne. Others are found elsewhere in France.

14. W. H. Forsyth, "A Medieval Statue of the Virgin and Child," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, November, 1944, pp. 84-88. Mme Lefrançois-Pillion, pp. 208, 216, also noticed this typical variation of the Normandy statue. Instead of the usual single strap below the neck line holding the mantle in place, the Virgin of Normandy often has a double strap.

15. The Norman variation may be derived from the Ile-de-France. For instance in the Vexin, a region partly in the Ile-de-France and partly in Normandy, are statues which are

transitional between the two provinces, including those at Magny and Ecouis, and of a later date at Mainneville (Eure) and Gisors (Eure). The early marble *Virgin* of Coutances in Normandy foreshadows the typical Norman posture. So does the Maisonnelles *Virgin*, now in the Louvre. See Marcel Aubert, *Musée National du Louvre. Description raisonnée des sculptures, I, Moyen âge. Notices* by Michèle Beaulieu, Paris, 1950, no. 206, and Lefrançois-Pillion, figs. 9 and 11.

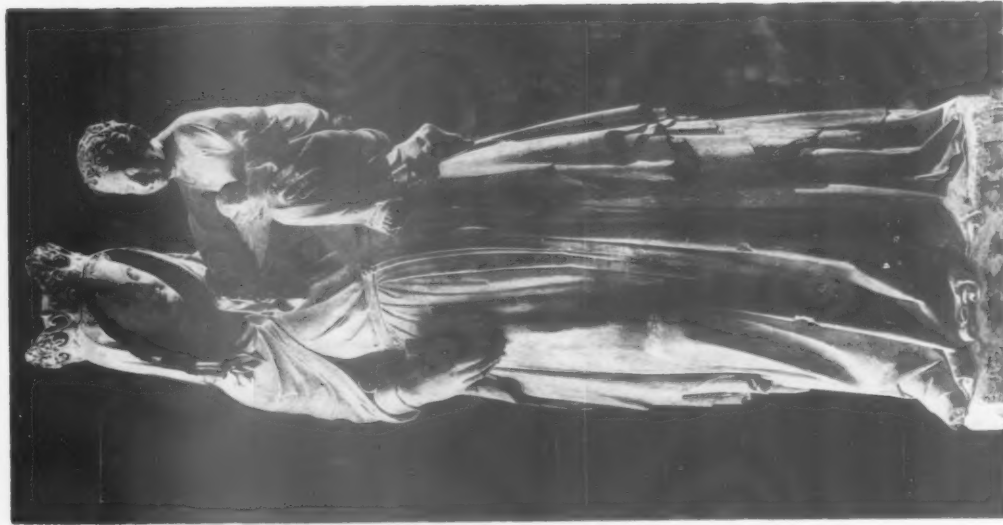
16. Lefrançois-Pillion, p. 215 n. 2. Forsyth, *M.M.A. Bulletin*, November 1944, p. 88. The Virgin's girdle often has a series of vertical bars.



1. New York, The Cloisters, doorway from the former abbey of Moutiers-Saint-Jean (Côte-d'Or)



2. Beaune, Convent of the Sacred Heart of Mary (Côte-d'Or), said to have come from near Montbard (Côte-d'Or)



3. St. Louis, City Art Museum, said to have come from Meaux (Seine-et-Marne)



4. Thieffrain (Aube), church



5. Brion-sur-Ourse (Côte-d'Or), church



6. Paris, Notre-Dame



7. Dijon, Chartreuse of Champmol (Côte-d'Or)



8. Perreuse (Yonne), church



9. Saint-Dié (Vosges), from the cloister of the Cathedral



10. Vinneuf (Yonne), church



11. Coulanges-la-Vincuse (Yonne), church



12. Châteauneuf (Côte-d'Or), church



13. Dommarien (Hte.-Marne), church



14. Autun (Saône-et-Loire), Rolin Museum



15. Caen (Calvados), Franciscan Chapel



16. Colombiers (Orne), church



17. Saint-Lo (Manche), Le Bon Sauveur



18. Dixmont (Yonne), church



19. Sens (Yonne), Cathedral. Crown and right hand of Virgin restored.



20. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, from Saint-Chéron (Hte.-Marne)



21. Vatry (Marne), church



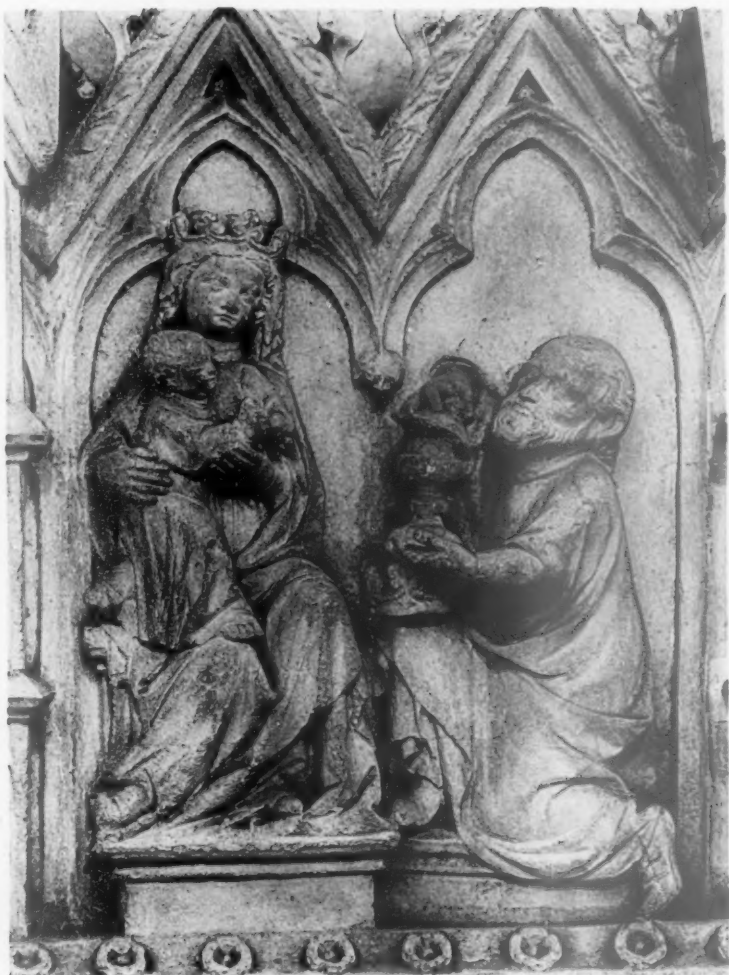
22. Bisseuil (Marne), church



23. Coulommies-la-Montagne (Marne), church



24. Ville-Dommange (Marne), church



25. Marsal (Moselle), church, part of shrine



26. Aachen, Cathedral



27. Cologne, Sancta Maria in Capitol

gundian statues make her look fatter than she does in the Ile-de-France (Figs. 8, 10-14).¹⁷ Not all Burgundian Virgins have rounded faces such as these, but many have a characteristically wide face, wider and fuller than is customarily found in the Ile-de-France region.

The famous seated *Virgin* of Sens Cathedral (1334-1340) has a face similar to the *Virgin* of Dixmont and to other statues of the Virgin in Burgundy (Figs. 18, 19).¹⁸ Schaefer may well be right in believing that the Sens *Virgin* establishes a connection between the Ile-de-France and Burgundy.¹⁹ However, it seems to have a more direct connection with sculpture in Burgundy.

It would only be natural that the *Virgin* in the nearby church of Dixmont should be influenced by one at Sens since Sens was one of the great metropolitan churches of France, once having under its jurisdiction the bishoprics of Chartres, Auxerre, Meaux, Paris (until the seventeenth century), Orléans, Nevers, and Troyes.²⁰ Such ecclesiastical provinces may have had a part in shaping some of the regional groupings of sculptures.²¹ This ecclesiastical primacy of Sens of course does not necessarily imply a complete independence of sculptural style. The drapery folds of the Sens *Virgin* are slightly fuller than those customarily found on sculpture in the Ile-de-France such as the *Virgin* now in Saint-Germain, Paris, and may show some Flemish influence. One finds her thick columnar neck more commonly in Burgundy and northeastern France than in the Ile-de-France.

Other elements characteristic of Burgundian sculpture are the sturdy proportions which tend to become more bulky as the fourteenth century advances (Figs. 8, 10-14), the tubular drapery folds increasing in number and size to augment the impression of bulk to the figures, and the vigorous stance of the Virgin, akin to that found in Lorraine (cf. Figs. 7 and 8 with 9). As in Lorraine, there are in Burgundy a number of interlocking groups showing a general relationship to each other (Figs. 2-5, 8, 10-14). Perhaps one could compare them, indeed, to a series of families long established in the same general locality and having by numerous intermarriages many connections with each other and to a lesser extent with families outside the region. These interlocking groups are apparently more complex in Burgundy than in Lorraine, a fact which is perhaps to be accounted for by supposing that there were a greater number and variety of workshops in Burgundy than in Lorraine. Such complexities seem to increase as one approaches the heart of the Paris basin.

So great a number of Burgundian statues of the Virgin of the fourteenth century tend to be carved in "le style trapu," as Schaefer calls this heavy style, that one inevitably compares them to the somewhat stocky figures already found in Burgundy in the latter part of the thirteenth century on the portals of churches at Semur-en-Auxois, Saint-Thibault, and Moutiers-Saint-Jean.²²

17. Schaefer, pp. 74-75, 79, 86, 143 and pls. 16b, 20, 21a, 22.

18. For instance, to one in the treasury of Sens Cathedral, and, to a less extent, to others at Rousson and Armeau. See Schaefer, pls. 6, 9, 10 and his catalogue R. 62, 51, 1. The crown and right hand of the Sens *Virgin* and the forearms of the Child are restored. See E. Chartraire, "La Vierge de la Cathédrale de Sens," *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1912, pp. 275-288, pls. 40-48.

19. The *Annunciation* carved on the base of the Sens *Virgin* resembles that on the church portal at Dixmont. Schaefer also compares the Dixmont group to another *Annunciation* on the Cathedral of Meaux and points out that a royal maître-d'oeuvre worked at both Sens and Meaux. (Schaefer, *op.cit.*, pp. 69-70 and n. 2.) More direct indications of influence from the Ile-de-France are seen in other individual statues. (Schaefer, pp. 71-72, 81-85.)

20. The church at Dixmont was owned by the monastery of Notre-Dame-de-Charnier at Sens.

21. See note 62 below and Schaefer, p. 16. For the Metropolitan Church of Sens see *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique*

de Sens, xv, 1892, pp. 69-73.

22. Schaefer does not wholly agree with this analysis of "style trapu" for the 13th century, but other specialists such as Henri David have noted it and compared it to later style in Burgundy. Schaefer believes Sluter made a sharp break in the continuity of sculpture in Burgundy, which before his time was "antisluterienne" and after his death returned to "the Burgundian and French tradition." Granting Sluter's revolutionary genius, it still seems impossible to deny that some elements in Burgundian sculpture such as the "style trapu" partly prepared the way for him and also impossible to deny his lingering influence long after his death in the "appeasement" of his style as Henri David aptly puts it. Furthermore, if Schaefer is right, following Anne Liebreich and Henri David, in seeing a rapprochement of Sluter's style with Parisian royal ateliers how can there be such a violent difference between Sluter and the "Burgundian and French tradition"? See Schaefer, pp. 78, 152f.; H. David, *De Sluter à Sambin*, Paris, 1933, 1, Chaps. 1, 2; A. Liebreich, *Claus Sluter*, Brussels, 1936, Introduction.

The styles of the two centuries are not identical, of course. However, the small seated statues in side niches of the Moutiers-Saint-Jean portal, which is now at The Cloisters, New York (Fig. 1), not only show such stockiness but also wear garments which tend to break into heavy swirling folds that seem a forecast of later Burgundian sculpture. The statues, judging by their style, would hardly seem datable between 1257 and 1285 were there not good evidence to indicate this date and were they not closely associated on the portal with monumental figures which clearly reflect thirteenth century style of this period.²³

IV

Facial types, as mentioned above, are often a clear way of distinguishing sculpture of one region from that of another. These facial differences are sufficient evidence in a number of cases to show that the statues were carved in the regions where they are now located and by sculptors who must have been acquainted with some of the local variations of physiognomy, variations which can be found among country people still unaffected by the migrant populations of cities.

The Madonna in eastern France usually has a heavier, wider face with a more serious expression than that found in the region around the Ile-de-France where the Madonna usually looks like a lady of the court (Fig. 6) and sometimes wears a gracious, mannered smile. As the distance increases from Paris towards the east, the faces become more Germanic. The face of the Madonna in Lorraine shows a striking contrast between the large, prominent forehead and the softly modeled lower half of the face with its high cheek bones, small features and round, double chin (Figs. 9, 25, 26).²⁴ The faces of Rhenish statues of the Virgin, including a number attached to the school of Cologne, sometimes are similar to those of their neighbors of Lorraine (Fig. 27), although sometimes they have bigger mouths curled in an artificial smile. The statues of the Madonna of the Meuse Valley,²⁵ although allied to those of Lorraine proper, tend to have a squarer face. This variation seems to be transitional between that of the Lorraine groups and that found in Champagne and corresponds to the geographic situation of the Meuse between these two provinces. The faces of the Madonnas of Champagne have the fullness of other east French Madonnas, but being so near the Ile-de-France they are apt to be somewhat softer with an expression closer to that found in Parisian sculpture (cf. Fig. 6 with Figs. 20-22). Different facial types also help to identify other regional groups. The influences of all these regions upon each other are considerable.

Posture also plays a part in the characterization of different regional groups. In Burgundy a number of statues of the Virgin stand with the right foot thrust out to one side forming a diagonal line from the waist to the tip of the foot (Fig. 8). This dynamic posture is akin to that found in Lorraine and seems to indicate a relationship between the sculpture of the two provinces. Perhaps the statues of the Virgin in Burgundy influenced those in Lorraine. Schaefer points out that this posture, which he calls the "diagonale amiénoise," foreshadowed that of Sluter's famous statue of the Virgin on the portal of the Chartreuse of Champmol in Dijon (Fig. 7) and he believes that it was derived from that commonly found in the Ile-de-France (Fig. 6).²⁶ This assumption may be correct, perhaps to be explained by migrant cathedral ateliers, perhaps in part by direct importations.²⁷ The essential point, however, is not whether this posture does or does not ultimately derive from that of the Ile-de-France but the fact that it is distinct enough to be treated separately. The typical posture of the Ile-de-France is usually quieter and the curve of the body less pronounced (Fig. 6). This royal type, if it may be so called as a reflection of the elegance and grace

23. See J. J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters. The Building and the Collection*, New York, 1951 (14th printing, 1957), pp. 11-15.

24. W. H. Forsyth, "Mediaeval Statues of the Virgin in Lorraine related in type to the Saint-Dié Virgin," *M.M. Studies*, v, pp. 235-258.

25. Including roughly the area of the department of the Meuse corresponding to the diocese of Verdun.

26. Schaefer, p. 87.

27. See Schaefer, pp. 71-85, and Lefrançois-Pillion, p. 218.

of the French court, had a number of variations which must have exercised considerable influence in and beyond the royal domain.

Drapery folds are prominent in all fourteenth century French sculpture. In Burgundy they tended not only toward heaviness and swirling complexity, but at the same time kept an "architectural balance," to use Schaefer's phrase. This emphasis upon architectural balance showed itself in the mass of heavy tubular folds of various sizes bunched together and hanging down in strongly marked vertical accents, often on both sides of the figures in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Figs. 8, 12, 13, 19).

Tubular drapery was of course by no means confined to Burgundy. It was used, for instance, on the tomb figures at Saint-Denis and on many statues of the Virgin of the Ile-de-France. However, the royal ateliers characteristically showed a greater restraint and elegance in its use. Southern French sculpture used it more copiously and in a slightly different form. For example the *Virgin* in the Cathedral of Narbonne and the statues of the Rieux Apostles in the Museum of Toulouse have characteristic organ-like tubular folds increasing in size as they fall from the waist and arranged at more regular intervals than customary in northern and eastern France.²⁸

V

Literary sources often reveal the meaning of the iconography of many statues of the Virgin and Child which in some cases may have a regional character. Many iconographic themes, however, are too general for regional classification, such as the bird which the Child often holds.²⁹ The prevalence in eastern France of the bird which the Child holds by its wings has already been noted.

Schaefer analyzes possible literary sources of Burgundian iconography. In one of his most interesting passages he gives evidence of the considerable influence of the Cistercians, including St. Bernard, upon Marian sculpture in Burgundy in spite of the fact that St. Bernard was "the great enemy of images." Schaefer makes it clear that there apparently were statues of the Virgin and Child on the portals of Cistercian churches by the mid-thirteenth century and that they probably were placed within their churches by the end of the century.³⁰ Around the famous Cistercian *Virgin* of the Abbey of Fontenay, Schaefer groups a number of other fourteenth century statues of the Virgin. The two lions under her feet and the "marmouset" under the Châteauneuf *Virgin* representing her triumph over evil are related by Schaefer to Cistercian concern with demoniac temptations and the Virgin's promise to the members of the order, consecrated to her, that the devil would have no power over them.³¹ One wonders if Cistercian writings inspired similar iconography found with other statues of the Virgin in France. For instance, is there any connection between Cistercian thought and the famous statues of the Virgin trampling on a serpent symbolizing evil which were placed on the Cathedral portals of Paris and Amiens in the early thirteenth century? Or do these derive from other sources? And what of German examples? Four statues of the Virgin now in the Louvre with this iconography are all assigned to the Ile-de-France, although no. 212 may come from east of Paris.³² The theme is quite widespread therefore and the part which the Cistercians played in its growth is far from settled, tempting as are some of Schaefer's ideas on the subject.

28. For illustrations of some of the Toulouse prophets see A. Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture in France*, New York, 1931, p. 382. For an illustration of the Narbonne *Virgin*, see P. Vitry and G. Brière, *Documents de sculpture française du moyen âge*, I, Paris, n. d., pl. xciii, no. 5.

29. The writer has never seen a completely convincing clarification of this theme. Doubtless it was primarily an emblem of purity, possibly associated with the turtle doves offered in the Temple at the time of the Presentation of our Lord. The bird was also associated with the childhood of Christ in

apocryphal accounts in which he made birds out of clay and brought them to life. In this spirit the Child sometimes plays with a bird in some paintings and sculptures. In a more serious mood, the association of the dove with the Holy Spirit and with the human soul may also be implied in some of these statues. Schaefer, p. 49, cites the bestiaries and other sources.

30. Schaefer, p. 106.

31. *ibid.*, pp. 43, 44.

32. See the notices by Mlle Michèle Beaulieu in Aubert's *Description raisonnée*. . . I, *Moyen âge*, nos. 210, 212 and 213.

The iconography and its origins are too complicated to be treated systematically here. The theme certainly was not confined to Burgundy. Eve with the Apple is shown under the feet of the Virgin (the new Eve) in Sienese painting of the fourteenth century and later under several French statues of the Virgin and Child in western France.³³ One ultimate source may be Psalm 90/91:13. "Thou shalt tread upon the lion [or basilisk] and adder [or asp]: The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet."

In the Coronation scene on the Moutiers-Saint-Jean doorway in The Cloisters, the Virgin treads upon a serpentine body, probably an adder, while Christ treads upon two lions. Such iconography is unusual for the Coronation of the Virgin and one wonders if it has anything to do with the fact that the Moutiers doorway comes from the remains of a former Cistercian monastery.

The Virgin of the burning bush is another theme which Schaefer believes was introduced into Marian sculpture by way of Cistercian writing, which helped to popularize this iconography. Several such statues do come from Burgundy and Lorraine, but Schaefer is certainly right in not insisting upon an exclusively Burgundian monopoly of the theme in sculpture.³⁴

More important to fourteenth century sculpture is the theme of the nursing Virgin which, according to Schaefer, seems to have been given a powerful impetus by the Cistercians, namely by St. Bernard's preaching and by the Bernardine Miracle of the Lactation.³⁵ Although statues of the Virgin nursing the Child are found widely scattered throughout France, their greatest concentration seems to be in the eastern part of the country, not however restricted to Burgundy.³⁶ One seated nursing group centers around Nancy and Toul in Lorraine and is related to other Lorraine statues of the Virgin.³⁷ Most other statues of the Virgin are not so closely related to each other. They often have a common type of round full face with double chin and with curly hair usually breaking into a large marcel wave over the temples and ears.³⁸ While it is true that the face of the Virgin in the Paris basin, including the Ile-de-France, becomes slightly rounder and fuller as the fourteenth century advances,³⁹ this facial fullness, as already observed, is more pronounced in Burgundy and the east.⁴⁰ Even a number of statues of the Virgin in the eastern Ile-de-France and in Champagne tend to have fuller faces than those nearer Paris.

33. Examples of Italian paintings with Eve under the Virgin include a fresco at Monte Siepi near Siena, about 1336, and at least nine other paintings more or less in the Lorenzettian manner including one by Paolo di Giovanni Fei belonging to Mr. Robert Lehman of New York. Two French 14th century statues with this theme include one in the church of Saint-Laud, Angers, and another in the church of Saint-Pierre, Limoges. The Angers statue relates to others in the Paris basin and the Limoges statue looks east French, possibly related to one in the Lyons Museum. See G. H. Forsyth, *The Church of St. Martin at Angers*, Princeton, 1953, Appendix IX, by W. H. Forsyth, pp. 232-233, for additional comment and bibliography.

34. At Tonnerre (Hôtel-Dieu) (Yonne), Epinal (Museum), and Le Mans (from Burgundy or Champagne). See Schaefer, pls. 24, 26 and 30 for sculpture comparable in style; p. 175 for Tonnerre Virgin; and pp. 39-40 for theological references in St. Augustine, Rabanus Maurus, Hugh of Saint Victor, St. Bernard, Thomas the Cistercian, Guillaume de Diguilleville, another Cistercian, and others. E. Joret, *La rose dans l'antiquité et le moyen âge*, Paris, 1892, p. 249, cites Mary as "the wild rose that Moses found blooming in the middle of the burning flames" thus explaining the roses on the bush at the feet of the Le Mans Virgin. See also the painting of this theme by the Master of the Aix Annunciation.

35. This ancient theme goes back to Byzantine sources and Italian painting of the 14th century. Schaefer, pp. 40-43, ignores the part Italian influence may have played in developing the theme in French sculpture and the role which other theologians, such as Honorius of Autun, must have had in its propagation. See references in Charles Parkhurst, "The Ma-

donna of the Writing Christ Child," ART BULLETIN, XXIII, 1941, pp. 303f., n. 64.

36. Out of some seventy-eight French statues of nursing Virgins that I know, at least thirty-five are east French in style, most of them still being located there, others being in public or private collections. Twelve, by style and provenance, are assignable to the Paris basin and central France, ten to northern France, nine to western France, five to southern France, and seven of unknown style. This list does not pretend to be complete nor does it include the ivory statuettes and reliefs of nursing Virgins assigned to Parisian workshops by Koechlin and others. (See note 5 above.) It must be confessed that some of these ivories have the heavy proportions common to monumental sculpture in eastern France and not found in the region around Paris.

37. Notably at Nancy Cathedral, Lay-Saint-Christophe, Gondreville, Varangéville, and Toul. See Forsyth, *Studies*, pp. 245, 255, 256, and ills.

38. Compare the statue of the Virgin and Child at Notre-Dame-de-la-Brèche, Chartres, with another in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (Lefrançois-Pillion, ill. on p. 208) or with others at Saint-Laurent-en-Gâtines (Indre-et-Loire) and Flavigny-sur-Ozerain (Côte-d'Or) (Schaefer, pl. 16b). Compare one at Muneville-le-Bingard (Manche), probably made by a royal workshop, with a later one at Joigny (Yonne). Lefrançois-Pillion (ill. p. 143) and Schaefer, catalogue no. 37 and pl. 16a.

39. Lefrançois-Pillion, figs. 5, 7, 8, 11, 24.

40. See sections III and IV above, and Schaefer, pls. 21, 22, 24, 38, 40-49.

Groups of statues in Lorraine have a number of regional motifs, at least some of which may be explained by literary sources. Included among these are the wild rose crown, sometimes composed of a rough circlet of rose twigs and sometimes combined with other decoration to form a regular crown, a small stalk of wild roses in the Virgin's right hand, a decoration of alternating rosettes and dots on her belt, a stemless wild rose held by the Child, wearing an open collar whose revers are tipped by buttons.⁴¹

The rose crown is also used with Rhenish sculptures and paintings of the Virgin. Lovers crowned their ladies with roses on May Day and Henry Suso, the German mystic, was in the habit of placing such a crown on a statue of the Virgin, his heavenly lady.⁴² This crown may imply the mystical marriage of Christ and the Virgin.

The theme of the Virgin as the *sponsa mystica* also seems to be reflected in a group of statues in Lorraine and Champagne in which the Child places a ring on the finger of the Virgin's right hand.⁴³ Paul Perdrizet was the first to point out the interpretation of this theme in sculpture.⁴⁴ St. Bernard, Honorius of Autun, and others, in their commentaries on the Song of Songs, interpreted the bridegroom as Christ and the bride as the Church personified by the Virgin.⁴⁵ The "Speculum humanae salvationis," which may have been written under Dominican influence in Strassburg, popularized this theme in the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ It may be significant that the group of sculptures just described comes from eastern France and that, of three literary sources here mentioned, one is Rhenish and two are east French.

Another reference to the mystical marriage theme may be implied in a few statues of Lorraine where the Christ Child plays with the end of his mother's girdle.⁴⁷ It was an old custom for the husband to remove his bride's girdle on their wedding day and sometimes to leave it hanging in the church.⁴⁸ In Normandy too one also finds the Child holding the girdle.⁴⁹

VI

The concluding section of this paper will be devoted to illustrating the method of grouping as it applies to a series of seated statues of the Virgin and Child. Seated statues of the Virgin, although much less numerous in fourteenth century France than standing ones, are sufficiently common in some regions to form representative groups.⁵⁰ They are therefore good tests of the theories here set forth. The type here chosen for study is that of the Virgin seated upon a throne with the Child

41. Some of these motifs are shared by sculpture in neighboring regions, but seldom combined on one statue unless it has a close relation with Lorraine. See Forsyth, *Studies*, pp. 238-240. For the stalk of roses see note 6 above.

42. See Ursula Weymann, *Die seusesche Mystik und ihre Wirkung auf die bildende Kunst*, Berlin, 1938, p. 45. Also Augusta von Oertzen, *Maria die Königin des Rosenkranzes*, Augsburg, 1925, p. 85.

43. At Maxéville (Meurthe-et-Moselle), Avézé, Herbisse (Aube), the Cluny Museum, Catalogue nos. 276 and 283, said to come from eastern France, probably Lorraine and Baroville (Aube). See Forsyth, *Studies*, p. 238 and Lefrançois-Pillion, p. 214. In most of these the Child fondles his mother's fingers, one of which carries the ring. These statues are all related in style. In a later statue at Marcoussis (Seine-et-Oise) the Child holds a ring on his mother's finger. In a number of statues in Normandy, the Virgin wears a ring which may be another allusion to her mystical marriage.

44. Perdrizet, "Maria Sponsa Filii Dei," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LVII, 1907, pp. 392-397.

45. See Perdrizet, "Maria Sponsa Filii Dei," *Bulletin mensuel de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine*, 1907, offprint, pp. 5-7. Also Perdrizet, *Revue*, 1907, pp. 394-396. In his sermons on the Song of Songs and on the feasts of the Annunciation, Nativity, Purification, and Assumption, St. Bernard

continually refers to the Virgin as the Spouse of Christ. See Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXXII-CLXXXV. See also Honorius of Autun, "Sigillum beatae Marie," Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXXII and many other writers including Rupert of Deutz (12th century), Fulbert of Chartres, and Dante (*Paradiso*, Canto XXXII, ll. 127-130).

46. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis* . . . , Mulhouse, 1907-1909, pp. 228, 232.

47. At Bouxières-aux-Dames (Meurthe-et-Moselle) and Epinal (Museum) (Vosges, 15th or early 16th century). See Forsyth, *Studies*, fig. 9.

48. See Karl Weinhold, *Die deutsche Frau in den Mittelalter*, 1887, I, p. 388; II, p. 369.

49. At Caen in the Franciscan chapel and on two other statues in the Norman style in the Cleveland and Los Angeles Museums, the Child holds the girdle as a stirrup, a motif characteristic of Normandy. Two other statues at Limeuil (Dordogne) and in the Metropolitan Museum (from the Blumenthal Collection) show the Child playing with the end of the girdle. These statues are Norman or made under Norman influence. See Forsyth, "A Medieval Statue of the Virgin and Child," *M.M.A. Bulletin*, November, 1944, pp. 85-88. See also Lefrançois-Pillion, p. 215 n. 2.

50. The Nancy-Toul nursing group, for instance, already referred to.

standing in her lap.⁵¹ Although groups of this particular seated type are found scattered somewhat unevenly throughout France, it seems to have been most common to eastern France and the Rhineland. In order not to confuse the reader a number of statues of this type are omitted because their connections are too complicated to be considered briefly.⁵² There will be space to consider here only one group belonging to this type, located in Champagne, and then to refer briefly to a few related groups of the same type found in other regions.⁵³

Around the *Virgin* from Saint-Chéron in Champagne, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 20) can be grouped a number of statues of the seated Virgin with the standing Child which are alike in posture, drapery arrangement, and many other details (Figs. 21-24).⁵⁴ Within this group are pairs of statues with even closer similarities. For instance, in comparing Saint-Chéron and Vatry there is not only a close relationship in style and facial type, but also in the arrangement of the veil, the ornament of the crown, the ringlets of hair over the temples, the rosette borders around the top and bottom of the throne, the rosette and three vertical dots decorating the belt, and the mantle strap with its terminal tassels.⁵⁵ One can safely conclude that the same imager carved both statues. The style of the Saint-Chéron figure, as well as indirect documentary evidence, suggests that it was carved in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.⁵⁶ The greater fullness of the cloak of the Vatry *Virgin* suggests a slightly later date and a dependence upon Saint-Chéron. The other related statues also seem later than Saint-Chéron.

Other statues within the group are at Coulommies-la-Montagne (Fig. 23), Ville-Dommange (Fig. 24), Bisseuil (Fig. 22), Pogny, Prosnes, and Sacy. Most of the statues appear to come from related workshops. Details reveal copying within the group. For instance the Ville-Dommange *Virgin* copies the earlier Coulommies *Virgin* in the folds and the edges of the mantle which fall from the Virgin's right shoulder across her lap and to the ground, folds which are also related to those of Vatry and Bisseuil. The Child's posture and the folds of his tunic are nearly identical in the Coulommies and Ville-Dommange statues and are also related to those of Bisseuil. In both statues the Virgin's book is enveloped by a cloth which made it possible to be carried as a bag. Details repeated by the other statues are almost as close, such as the position of the striding Child who often holds a ball and a bird.⁵⁷ Bisseuil is finer than and probably contemporary with Ville-Dommange. It is close in quality to Saint-Chéron and Vatry and pairs off with Pogny in a number of ways. Prosnes and Sacy show how the group gradually became more rustic and went to seed in the hands of less talented carvers. All the statues from this group come from the department of the Marne, some from the same arrondissement, and three even from the same canton.⁵⁸

51. The standing Child distinguishes this type from other types of seated Virgins, including seated nursing groups, in which the Child sits on his mother's lap.

52. Including four examples in the Louvre. See *Description des sculptures*, nos. 211, 212, 214, 215. Ivories of this type are mixed in style; some of them are related to Ile-de-France sculpture and some of a much heavier style are related to sculpture in eastern France.

53. Many statues of this type outside of France, especially in northern Italy, do not seem to have a close connection with the groups here treated, with the exception of some in the Rhineland which will be mentioned.

54. See Forsyth, "A French Fourteenth Century Statue of the Virgin and Child," *M.M.A. Bulletin*, 1939, pp. 248-250, and *idem*, "Une Vierge de Saint-Chéron," *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts du département de la Marne*, XXIX, Châlons-sur-Marne, 1955, pp. 65-68.

55. Rosettes are a fairly common ornament, but their use on moldings framing a series of reliefs in the Marne as well as the Meuse and at Marsal in northern Lorraine suggests a regional comparison with their similar use on the thrones of the Saint-Chéron and Vatry statues of the Virgin. Examples in the department of the Marne, beside Saint-Chéron and Vatry,

are at Mareuil-en-Brie, Corribert, Le Mesnil-sur-Oger. In the department of the Meuse at Verdun (in the cathedral cloister), Hattonchâtel and Marville. Small rosettes decorate the throne of the seated *Virgin* in the Cathedral of Sens. A few other statues of the seated Virgin in the styles of Campagne and of Lorraine with similar rosette thrones are not listed here since some of them may not be old. A part of a late 13th century tympanum from the doorway of a church in Champagne, acquired for The Cloisters, New York, shows a living branch of wild roses in the border (See *M.M.A. Bulletin*, 1950, p. 23 [ill.]). Again caution must be used in forming groups by one such motif common to a region unless there is other corroborating evidence. Koechlin (*Ivoires*) groups together a number of French ivory plaques with rosette borders, but they are not homogeneous in style and really form a number of different groups.

56. Forsyth, *M.M.A. Bulletin*, 1939.

57. The Vatry *Virgin* is the only one in which the Child does not carry at least one of these attributes. In the Saint-Chéron *Virgin* the Child seems to have carried a ball in his left hand judging by the breaks. His left forearm, now missing, was held against his body as at Ville-Dommange.

58. Saint-Chéron (arrondissement Vitry-le-François, canton

It is easy to imagine how such a group probably spread. A parish church wanted a statue like one in a neighboring church. An imager might be commissioned by a local donor to carve a statue "after" the desired model. Documents speak of such copies. Or perhaps in a somewhat freer style the imager might follow a type he already knew and had used. Types of statues could thus spread from one locality to another as the fame of some statue grew because it had become associated with a miracle, because it decorated some famous pilgrimage center, or perhaps simply because it struck the fancy of the people. Originality was not demanded. In fact the conservative attitude toward a cult image must have often discouraged new ideas and favored the use of an accustomed type. Yet it is remarkable how many minor variations were incorporated in these statues which seldom if ever were exact reproductions.

Similar groups in other regions of this seated type with standing Child can be but briefly mentioned for purposes of comparison. Schaefer has discovered one group in Burgundy around the Dixmont *Virgin* and I have isolated another group in Lorraine and the Rhineland. Still other related groups exist in the Rhineland and elsewhere in France.⁵⁹

All these different regional groups belong clearly to the same generic type yet all differ from each other sufficiently to have been made by different workshops in different styles. The Lorraine group is characteristically heavier in proportions and drapery than the Champagne group. The Burgundian group is more closely related to that of Champagne but, as has been shown, with slight differences in drapery arrangement and facial cast.

Still further evidence of regional variations can be seen in the iconography of these groups. In the Lorraine group the Child is not steadied by his mother's arm half around him, as in Champagne and Burgundy, but usually supports himself by leaning or resting his elbow against her.⁶⁰ Another curious difference between the Champagne and Lorraine groups is the way the Virgin holds the book in her right hand, its edges facing toward the spectator in Champagne instead of facing sideways as in Lorraine.

It may seem to stretch the truth to speak of one of these groups as from Lorraine when one of its members is in Aachen Cathedral (Fig. 26), another is in the little gate of the church of Santa Maria in Capitol, Cologne (Fig. 27), and another is part of a stone reliquary at Marsal (Moselle) (Fig. 25).⁶¹ Yet Lorraine is as good a geographical name as any since Metz, Toul, and Verdun (the "three bishoprics" of northern Lorraine) were attached to the archdiocese of Aachen, which also had connections with the neighboring archdiocese of Cologne.⁶² A number of standing statues of the Virgin and Child in Lorraine closely resemble this seated group in style and facial cast.⁶³

The standing position of the Child may be explained by the desire to present him more prominently to the worshiper than if he were seated. He appears thus in Simone Martini's famous

Saint-Remy-en-Bouzemont), Vatry (arrondissement Châlons-sur-Marne, canton Ecury-sur-Coole), Coulommies-la-Montagne (arrondissement Reims, canton Ville-en-Tardenois), Ville-Dommange (arrondissement Reims, canton Ville-en-Tardenois), Pogny (arrondissement Châlons-sur-Marne, canton Maison), Bisseuil (arrondissement Reims, canton Ay), Prosnes (arrondissement Reims, canton Beine), Sacy (arrondissement Reims, canton Ville-en-Tardenois).

59. Ivory statuettes and small plaques of this type are attributed by Koechlin and others to Parisian workshops (See note 6 above). They are certainly different from large-scale sculpture in the Ile-de-France and a number of them have the heavy proportions common to large-scale sculpture in eastern France. Are any of these ivories attributable to some center of eastern France like Lyons or Dijon? Or were they carved in Paris, like most French 14th century ivories, but under the influence of eastern France? These questions cannot be studied here, but they also arise in other instances already noted.

60. He still keeps the captive bird of the Champagne and

Burgundy groups.

61. A fourth member of the group was formerly in the collection of the late Mortimer L. Schiff of New York. There are several others, some of doubtful date, that have been on the international art market, but all in a style of eastern France.

62. The diocese, as an ecclesiastical unit, must have encouraged such regional variations to develop. Instances of groups within the same diocese or archdiocese have already been cited, namely the Toul-Nancy nursing group (all part of the diocese of Toul in the 14th century), the Sens-Dixmont group, and the Aachen-Lorraine group here under discussion. The squarish faces, already noted in the Meuse valley, are characteristic of sculpture in the diocese of Verdun. In the diocese of Narbonne-Carcassonne, there were also a number of closely related statues of the Virgin already noted. See notes 21 and 25.

63. Forsyth, *Studies*, cites a number of these groups.

fresco of the Maestà in Siena and in some other early Italian examples. In the two sculptures of the Lorraine group at Cologne and at Marsal, the Virgin presents him thus to the Three Magi. A third sculpture from the main altar at Cologne Cathedral, slightly earlier in date than those of this Lorraine-Aachen group, also shows the Child in this standing position on the Virgin's lap as he receives the gifts of the Magi. The relics of the Three Magi were housed in the Cathedral, and their cult was strong in the Rhineland and neighboring regions. This iconography may therefore help to explain the position of the standing Child and its popularity in eastern France. However, other statues of this Lorraine-Aachen group which show the Child standing and looking at his mother seem to be associated with the nursing theme, which, it has been noted, was also prominent in eastern France.

A sufficient number of statues of the Virgin and Child have now been studied throughout France to test the method of grouping here proposed and to make some generalizations. First of all, there are different types of Virgins and in a number of regions there are characteristic variations of these types, some of them more, some of them less distinct from the variations found elsewhere. These variations may be distinct enough to form regional groups produced by local workshops. If there is a characteristic style common to all the groups in one region, in spite of the fact that these groups derive from different types, one would seem to be justified in speaking of local schools as in the case of Lorraine. Until, however, a better evaluation of the differences between regional styles and the question of their relations to the royal ateliers are more clearly shown, it seems unwise to be too dogmatic on this point. Certainly "school" in many cases may prove to be too strong a word to define regional variations in the fourteenth century, yet by the fifteenth century regional schools had clearly emerged. It is hard to believe that all these fifteenth century schools suddenly emerged full blown without any preliminary warning, especially when one often finds distinctive groups of sculpture already beginning to appear in the fourteenth century in the same provinces which later were to be famous for their sculptural activity. Even in its last great flowering, mediaeval sculpture was usually too conservative for such a sudden development. Generations of unknown "imagers" all had their part in carving that vast edifice with its infinite variety of shapes and forms.

To sum up, it is hoped that enough evidence has been produced to prove the existence of regional groups of sculpture. Admittedly, all the relationships of these regional groups to the royal ateliers have not been determined, but one wonders whether these groups did not play their part in the origin of the great schools of sculpture which developed in the fifteenth century.

A RECONSTRUCTED PANEL BY FRA ANGELICO AND SOME NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE CHRONOLOGY OF HIS WORK*

CARMEN GÓMEZ-MORENO

THE starting point of the present study has been the reconstruction of a panel that was cut, probably in three fragments, at an unknown date. Of the two extant fragments, one is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and has been reproduced and briefly studied in several publications.¹ The other, much smaller, is in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, and has never been properly studied before.²

The work I did for this reconstruction has engaged me deeply in many of the problems connected with Fra Angelico's painting, seeking new ways to solve some of the puzzles which obscure its chronology. The result is a tentative method of studying Fra Angelico's work in itself, without reference to the long accretion of legend around his saintly personality. The chief feature of my method has been the study of the decorative motifs in the halos in relation to the chronological development of the master's career. I deal also with problems that have been treated elsewhere concerning the use of light in order to point out some facts connected with them which have been neglected or insufficiently studied.³

I

The Wadsworth Atheneum acquired in 1928 a *Bust of an Angel* attributed to Fra Angelico. This painting shows a single angel holding up a brocade curtain of which only a small portion is visible (Fig. 1). An isolated figure such as this is clearly a fragment of a larger composition. The painters of Fra Angelico's circle frequently used a type of representation with which this fragment can be associated: a Virgin and Child seated in front of a brocade curtain held by two or more angels.⁴ To this arrangement the *Madonna and Child* in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Fig. 2), attributed also to Fra Angelico or to an assistant, corresponds. In this painting the angels

* I am greatly indebted to Professor Millard Meiss who has generously helped me with his advice and encouragement during the preparation of this paper. I also owe sincere gratitude to Mr. Charles C. Cunningham, Director of the Wadsworth Atheneum, and to Mr. Arthur van Schendel, Curator of Paintings at the Rijksmuseum, for their most valuable and sympathetic support, and to the good friends who revised my English.

1. See especially P. I. M. Strunk, O.P., *Fra Angelico aus dem Dominikanerorden*, Düsseldorf, 1916, p. 98, fig. 91; W. von Bode, *Catalogus van dem Jubileum Tentoonstelling in der Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1923, no. 156; F. Schottmüller, *Fra Angelico da Fiesole*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 102, 261; A. Venturi, *Studi dal vero attraverso le raccolte artistiche d'Europa*, Milan, 1927, p. 11; R. van Marle, *The Development of Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1928, x, p. 138; B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 16; G. Bazin, *Fra Angelico*, Paris, 1941, pp. 23, 59; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, London, 1952, p. 197; *Catalogo della mostra dell'Angelico*, 2d. ed., Florence, 1955, no. 27, pl. XLII; L. C. Ragghianti, "Una mostra dell'Angelico," *Critica d'Arte*, x, 1955, pp. 391f.

2. See, A. E. Austin, Jr., "A Small Tempera by Fra Angelico," *Bulletin of the Wadsworth Atheneum*, VII, no. 1, 1929, pp. 2f. (reproduced on cover); *Art News*, XXVII, January 1929, p. 280; *Parnassus*, 1, March 1929, p. 10; *Art and Archeology*, XXVII, June 1929, p. 280.

3. Giulio C. Argan, *Fra Angelico*, Lausanne, 1955, pp. 20-23, presents an interesting description of light and color in Fra Angelico's work. Although traditional in many ways, Argan's brief study shows a fresh approach to the interpretation of the master unusual in a book intended for the general public.

As the present study is intended to be an approach based on a visual interpretation of Fra Angelico's work, the bibliography given has been reduced to a minimum. For the most up-to-date list of works dealing with the master, see *Catalogo della mostra*. . . . For good reproductions of the altarpieces mentioned in this article see Pope-Hennessy, *op.cit.*; and *Catalogo della mostra*.

4. This type of arrangement can be traced back to the end of the Dugento. Duccio's *Madonna of the Franciscans* is a well-known example.

are missing and the halo of the Virgin is incomplete, a fact which strongly suggests that the original shape of the panel has been altered.

A close analysis of the Amsterdam *Madonna and Child* and the Hartford *Bust of an Angel* shows that the panels share the same characteristics of style. The pattern of the curtain is identical and the same dies have been used in the decorative motifs of the halos. The physical type and the expression of the Virgin and the angel could scarcely be more similar, and the soft linear description of the hair is sufficient evidence to attribute both panels to the same hand in a single work (Figs. 7, 8).⁵

The surface, however, does not look the same in the two paintings. Apart from minor damages the Hartford *Bust of an Angel* is in good state of preservation; the brush work looks fresh and of a high quality. In the Amsterdam *Madonna and Child* some damage and repainting can be noticed especially in the lower part of the Virgin's mantle. Furthermore, the flesh areas seem to be rubbed. For these reasons the whole surface has lost the freshness of the Hartford *Angel*. The apparent disparity in quality of the two panels can thus be accounted for by a difference in their state of preservation rather than by the participation of a different hand.⁶

As the museums in Amsterdam and Hartford do not possess the necessary information about the pedigree of these panels I have been obliged to base reconstruction on stylistic evidence alone.⁷ The study of other examples within the school of Fra Angelico which show the same arrangement has been helpful. Among them are the *Madonna of Humility* in the National Gallery, Washington (Fig. 6), the *Madonna and Child with Five Angels* in the Thyssen Foundation, Lugano, and the *Virgin of the Pomegranate* in the Collection of the Duke of Alba, Madrid.⁸

The Hartford panel contains the upper left corner of the brocade curtain and the beginning of the curved edge which could conceivably end in the missing right hand of the angel. This part of the brocade in the lower right corner is rolled forward showing the identical incised motif as the underside of the folds at either side of the Amsterdam panel. When the Hartford *Angel* was cut from the main composition, this part of the curtain was painted over to appear as a continuation of the angel's left wing. Nevertheless, the original outline and the incised pattern in the gold ground are visible under the repainting. Probably at the same time some red areas were added to the brocade in the upper right corner; but they do not change the over-all motif, which coincides exactly in size and technique with the brocade in the Amsterdam panel.

Originally the position of the right hand of the angel would have been above the folds that we see on the left of the Virgin (text fig. 1). Tracing that point and the curve of the curtain, the beginning of which is in the Hartford panel, it is possible to determine the exact position of the angel. The direction in which he gazes seems to be somewhere above the head of the Virgin. It may be that this area of the original composition contained a representation of the Holy Ghost similar to that in Fra Angelico's *Madonna Linaïoli*. It is also possible that the expression in the eyes of the angel was somewhat changed by a light repainting which laboratory tests have revealed. In any case, the existence of some symbol in the upper part of the picture would not change its over-all arrangement.

The Amsterdam-Hartford painting was surely meant to be a devotional picture and its com-

5. Unfortunately I have not been able to see the Amsterdam *Madonna and Child*, but with the help of good reproductions, some of them full size, the comparative study of the two works has not been difficult.

6. The thickness of the wood panel of the two pictures, if identical, would have been an important factor in establishing their identity. Unfortunately the evidence is destroyed because the panel of the Hartford *Angel* has been shaved down.

7. The Amsterdam *Madonna and Child* passed in 1896 to

the Augusteum in Oldenburg from the Quadt Collection in Dresden. Afterwards it passed to the Rembrandt Society and since 1923 it has been in the Rijksmuseum. The history of the Hartford *Angel* is even shorter; from a dealer in Paris it passed to a dealer in New York in 1928 and to the Wadsworth Atheneum in the same year.

8. For the Thyssen and Duke of Alba Madonnas see *Catalogo della mostra*, figs. 15 and 111.



1. Reconstruction of the Amsterdam-Hartford Panel

paratively small size (the total height of the two fragments put together as suggested in text fig. 1 is 35.9 in.) suggests a commission for a private chapel rather than a church.

Iconographically this work corresponds to the Quattrocento conception of the Madonna of Humility which, according to Millard Meiss, has its ultimate origin in Simone Martini.⁹ In the Trecento examples the Virgin appears sitting almost on the floor, but in the early Renaissance the use of a big cushion becomes more common. It is a compromise between the Madonna of Humility and the Enthroned Madonna and Child. The subject matter of the work under study can be interpreted as an exaltation of the virginity of Mary, the Christ Child being only a complement to her glorification. The Virgin is represented crowned with the twelve stars like the Woman

9. Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 132ff.; *idem*, "The Ma-

donna of Humility," *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 435ff.

of the Apocalypse, and she wears the attributes and symbols of her heavenly purity and glory. With her left hand she is holding her Son and with her right hand a lily. The lily is a usual symbol in representations of the Annunciation, but there are very few Italian examples of the Virgin actually holding it as she does in the Amsterdam panel.¹⁰ In the Florentine school I was able to find only one earlier example in a work by Bernardo Daddi, and in other schools an Umbrian miniature, dated 1332 and a polyptych by the Umbrian painter Ottaviano Nelli, dated 1404.¹¹

There is in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence a small panel attributed by some critics to Andrea di Giusto or to another artist under his influence, representing a Virgin with the Child seated on a large cushion in front of a brocade curtain supported by two angels (Fig. 3).¹² Other motifs appear in the Accademia picture but the general arrangement is almost identical to our reconstructed panel. The figures of the Virgin and Child duplicate exactly the Virgin and Child of the Amsterdam panel, although the angels have been slightly elongated to fit the different proportions of the composition. The resemblance between the two works is too striking to be considered a mere coincidence. The symbolical meaning of both paintings, however, is somewhat different. Depicted in the small predella of the Accademia panel is a decaying corpse with the legend: *Respice fr[ater] q[ua]lis eris: fui[t] s[i]c[ut] tu es* (Regard, brother, what you will be: he was what you are). In the pinnacle is represented the Man of Sorrows. Thus, to the usual theme of the Madonna and Child has been added a *memento mori*.¹³

The Virgin seen as *Nostra Domina de humilitate* was a particular devotion of the Dominican Order. This fact, together with the importance of the lily for the Dominicans as the attribute of their founder, St. Dominic, suggest the possibility that this picture, so carefully studied in its symbolical details, could have been painted for someone in the Order itself.

The name of *Madonna of the Lily* seems to be an appropriate designation for this reconstructed work now that the original unity of the panels in Amsterdam and Hartford has been demonstrated.¹⁴

II

The development of Fra Angelico's style reveals clearly the artist's talent to free himself from the strong Gothicism in form and feeling which his early works show and which he may have taken from Lorenzo Monaco. Preserving all the religious sentiment, his Renaissance mind gave to later works a new volume and atmosphere. This change takes place as a subtle transition, as a product of the elaboration of a steady, creative mind. Nevertheless, the lack of documented and

10. In countries other than Italy the use of this symbol in representations of the Virgin and Child is more frequent. There are examples which go back to mediaeval times. One of them is an *Enthroned Virgin with the Child*, holding the three open symbolical flowers, in a manuscript of the twelfth century in the Biblioteca Provincial in Burgos (reproduced in M. Trens, *Maria: Iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español*, Madrid, 1946, fig. 16). Sometimes in France and also in Spain, the lily is transformed into a fleur-de-lis as a symbol of royalty; in this case Mary is seen as the Queen of Heaven.

11. Bernardo Daddi, *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints*, polyptych, Florence, Uffizi Gallery (reproduced in P. Toesca, *Florentine Painting of the Trecento*, Florence, 1929, fig. 87); School of Meo da Siena, Umbrian miniature, 1332, London, British Museum (reproduced in R. van Marle, *op.cit.*, v, 1925, fig. 5); Ottaviano Nelli, *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints*, polyptych, Pietralunga, Palazzo Comunale (reproduced in R. van Marle, *op.cit.*, VIII, 1927, fig. 209).

The *Madonna and Child with Five Angels* in the Thyssen Foundation, Lugano, also has a lily, but it is placed in a vase together with roses. The vase rests on the Virgin's right knee and she holds it with her right hand. (For a reproduction of the Thyssen *Madonnas* see note 8 above.) The lily with

the roses in a vase placed on the floor appears in other representations of the Virgin, either in the scene of the Annunciation or in the Enthroned Madonna and Child as in Giotto's *Enthroned Madonna* in the Uffizi, where the two angels kneeling in the front are holding vases with a lily and roses. I have been unable to find a source for this strange arrangement of the Thyssen *Madonna*.

12. U. Procacci, *La R. Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze*, Florence, 1951, p. 47, attributes this painting to a master close to Andrea di Giusto under the influence of Fra Angelico. B. Berenson, *op.cit.*, p. 12, considers it a work by Andrea di Giusto himself.

13. There is no evidence that the Amsterdam-Hartford picture presented in its original state the same arrangement as the picture in the Accademia. The subject matter, as represented in the Accademia panel, has no precedent in Fra Angelico's work. There is another *Madonna and Child* with a decaying corpse in the predella, by Giovanni del Biondo (see Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena*, p. 42 and *passim*, fig. 52) but it is not closely related to the Accademia panel.

14. The Amsterdam *Madonna* appears in the *Catalogo della mostra*, loc.cit., as the *Madonna del Giglio*.

dated works together with the obscure intervention of his assistants, of whom we know so little, makes the reconstruction of Fra Angelico's chronology extremely difficult.

The evolution of the master's style is revealed in his treatment of form, space, and light. Before going to the basic point of the present study, some factors which play an important role in the chronological interpretation of Fra Angelico's work should be studied.¹⁵

The Perugia polyptych (Fig. 9), dated 1437 or 1438, is a transition from the Linaoli triptych, dated 1433, to the large altarpiece painted for the main altar of the convent church of San Marco, Florence, about 1440 (Fig. 4). Some changes are apparent in the style and in the expression of the figures. The figure of the Virgin reveals clearly this transition from the majestic Enthroned Madonna to the much more humanized Madonna of Humility. It is in the figure of the Christ Child, however, that the change is most striking. In the Linaoli triptych the Child is clothed in a heavy, formal tunic and is standing on his mother's left knee. His small head in relation to the size of the body gives him the appearance of a small man rather than of a baby. In the Perugia polyptych the Child is proportionately larger than in the earlier panel and shows a new Masacciesque sense of volume. The Linaoli Child can still be considered as gothicizing. The Perugia Child is fully in the Renaissance conception of Jesus as a baby. The feeling of a greater intimacy between Mother and Son appears in the Perugia polyptych, and the expression on their faces shows a certain melancholy. In the San Marco altarpiece the physical characteristics of the Christ Child are about the same as in the Perugia panel, while the melancholy expression on the faces is more marked. In the altarpiece painted for the convent of San Bonaventura al Bosco ai Frati in Mugello, probably in the late 1440's, the figure of the Child is even more within the Renaissance style.¹⁶

In the few works already mentioned, various steps towards the solution of the handling of light can be discerned. In the Linaoli triptych the source of light is not completely defined, though it seems to be slightly to the left and not high. In the Perugia polyptych, however, the light comes in the conventional way, from the upper left. Also, the strong contrast of light and shade is used with a greater skill to give more plasticity to the figures and to create an illusion of space. In this work Fra Angelico reaches a mastery in the handling of the light which is far from the conventionalism of the earlier example. An interesting change can be noticed in the main panel as well as in the predella of the large San Marco altarpiece, in which the light comes from the right. Lighting from the right occurs also in some of the frescoes in the convent of San Marco, where Fra Angelico has attempted to create a consistent scheme of lighting for the entire cycle according to the position of the scenes on the walls.¹⁷ A careful study of the church of San Marco as reconstructed by Michelozzo gives a convincing explanation of this change of the direction of the light. The church is oriented north-northeast.¹⁸ At the time this altarpiece was painted, the apse had one window on each side more or less on a line with the main altar where Fra Angelico's painting was. There was also an opening on the right side, between the apse and the main body of the church. Owing to this orientation of the church, the light of the sun penetrated the two openings

15. For this part of the discussion only pictures which are documented and dated will be used. I have deliberately omitted the altarpiece in San Domenico, Cortona, because of certain peculiarities in style which can be considered as evidence of the presence of hands other than Fra Angelico's and the Annalena altarpiece because of its uncertain date.

16. Though the transition from the fully clothed Christ Child in the Linaoli triptych to the nude Child in the Bosco ai Frati altarpiece could be taken as a step to the Renaissance conception of Jesus as a baby, it cannot be so interpreted because in a work generally accepted as very early in Fra Angelico's career, the *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints* of San Domenico in Fiesole, the Child appears completely nude.

17. This consistent use of light to give the impression of an actuality in a complete cycle of wall paintings is by no means an invention of Fra Angelico's, though it shows in him a new interest in nature which is absent in his earlier works. Giotto had already used this same device in his decoration of the Arena Chapel and so had Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel.

18. For the study of Michelozzo's plan see Marchini, "Il San Marco di Michelozzo," *Palladio*, VI, 1942, no. III-IV, pp. 102-114. Also, Morisani, *Michelozzo architetto*, Turin, 1951, figs. 88, 102, 103. The position of the church can be seen in a drawing with a view of the whole convent in the *Codex Rustichi* in the Seminario Fiorentino, reproduced both by Marchini and Morisani.

on the right during the morning, but in the afternoon was too low to enter directly through any windows or door openings and illuminate Fra Angelico's work. This special circumstance does not occur in any other of the master's altarpieces.

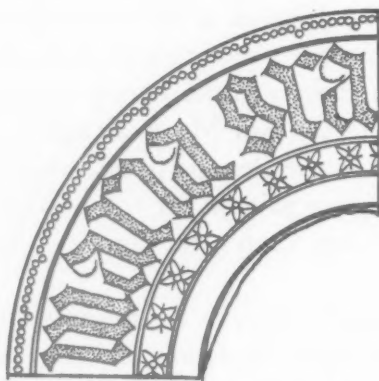
III

I shall now attempt to demonstrate that an examination of the decorative motifs in the halos of Fra Angelico's panel paintings reveals a clear evolution which coincides with the master's stylistic development.¹⁹ The discussion here will concentrate on the halo of the figure of the Virgin, this being the most prominent one.

In the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in the Museum of San Marco, generally accepted as the earliest known work by Fra Angelico, the Virgin's halo shows an elaborate floral pattern done in the style of the fourteenth century (text fig. 2a). Very similar halos appear in the works of



a. San Marco Madonna



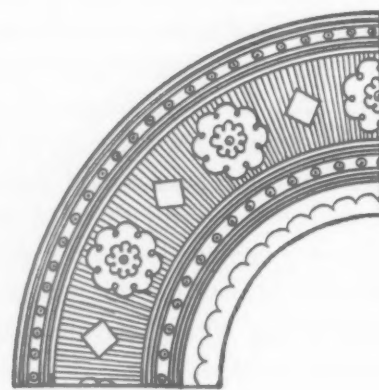
b. San Pietro Martire, 1428



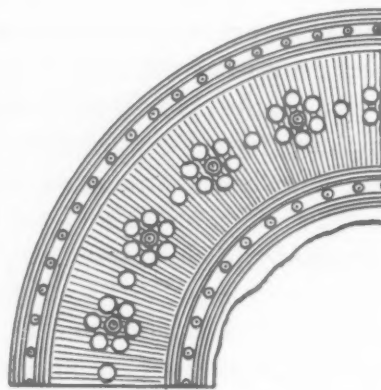
c. Louvre Coronation



d. Linaoli, 1433



e. Annalena



f. Cortona Annunciation

2. Halos Before the Perugia Altarpiece

other Florentine painters of the early Quattrocento such as Lorenzo Monaco, Masolino, and Masaccio.²⁰

19. The halo in the fresco paintings cannot be included in this discussion because of the different technique which requires a much greater simplicity. Moreover, Fra Angelico painted his first frescoes late in his career, when his style had already fully matured.

20. The decorative motif in the Child's halo in Fra Angelico's *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in the Museum of San

Marco can also be seen in several panel paintings by Lorenzo Monaco such as the *Salvator Mundi* in the Städel Institute in Frankfurt, the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi, and the *Madonna and Child with Saints* also in the Uffizi. The same pattern, without the external motif around the border, appears in the *Virgin of the Pomegranate* in the Collection of the Duke of Alba, Madrid, attributed to Fra Angelico.

A change can be observed in the halo of the polyptych probably by Fra Angelico, apparently painted in 1428 for the church of San Pietro Martire in Florence (text fig. 2b).²¹ In this polyptych the halo of the Virgin consists of two narrow bands, with a rather simple and repetitive motif, which enclose a large zone with the legend "Ave Maria Gratia Plena" in Gothic minuscules. This same legend incised in the gold appears in some other paintings generally dated before the Madonna Linaïoli, as for example the *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints* in the church of San Domenico in Fiesole.²²

The halo of the Virgin in the *Coronation* in the Louvre also shows an incised legend and an arrangement not very different from the examples already studied (text fig. 2c). Nevertheless, Gothic capitals have been used instead of minuscules. Gothic lettering does not occur in any of Fra Angelico's extant works from the earlier 1430's on. In the instances where legends appear, either in scrolls or in halos, the Roman capital is the form consistently used. Moreover, these legends are usually painted on and not incised in the gold as they were in the earlier examples. Apart from other evidence, the type of halo in the Louvre *Coronation of the Virgin*, in my opinion, would lead us to consider this altarpiece to have been begun early in the master's career, though probably finished later.²³

A very conspicuous change occurs in the halo of the *Madonna Linaïoli*, dated 1433. In this painting the Virgin's halo is composed of a central area with rosettes against a field of incised lines which radiate from the center (text fig. 2d). Around this central area is a band with lozenges and stippled motifs. In Fra Angelico's works subsequent to the Linaïoli triptych, the field of incised rays is made a permanent feature in the design, not only of the Virgin's halo, but in that of the other main figures as well. In the Annalena altarpiece, now in the Museum of San Marco, the pattern of the halo appears more simplified (text fig. 2e). The rosettes are still used but they are interpreted in a broader way quite unlike those in the Linaïoli triptych, which are formed by three superimposed series of eight petals. The lozenges have been incorporated within the central zone and they alternate with the rosettes. The decoration of the band around the central area also has become less complex; the number of dies used in the Linaïoli *Madonna* is here greatly reduced. The *Annunciation* from San Domenico in Cortona shows the use of exactly the same type of tooling as the Annalena halo but with a further simplification of the rosettes, which are formed only by six circles around a central one (text fig. 2f). Also, instead of the lozenges, circles alternate with the rosettes.²⁴

The Perugia polyptych marks here, once again, the end of one period and the beginning of a full maturity in Fra Angelico's career. The central area of the Virgin's halo with the design of incised rays is larger than ever before (text fig. 3a). The rosettes are similar to those in the Cortona *Annunciation* but smaller, and there are no intervening circles. The outer band is narrow and very simply and clearly designed. In the large altarpiece painted for the main altar of San Marco the Virgin's halo is exactly like the halo of the Perugia Madonna except that isolated, small circles have taken the place of the rosettes (text fig. 3b). In the Bosco ai Frati altarpiece the central area of the halo contains only the incised rays with the legend "S. Maria Virgine" painted in Roman capitals (text fig. 3c). Other works by Fra Angelico considered to have been

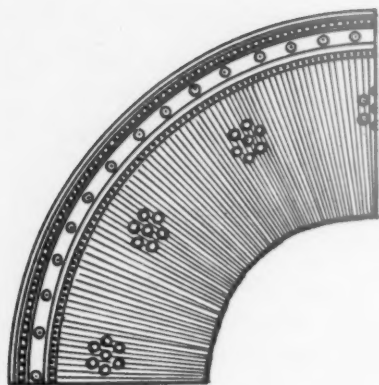
21. Stefano Orlandi, O.P., "Il Beato Angelico: Note cronologiche," *Rivista d'Arte*, xxix, 1954, s.3, IV, pp. 161ff.

22. Although the Fiesole altarpiece was in part repainted at the beginning of the 16th century by Lorenzo di Credi, the general structure of the halos was apparently preserved.

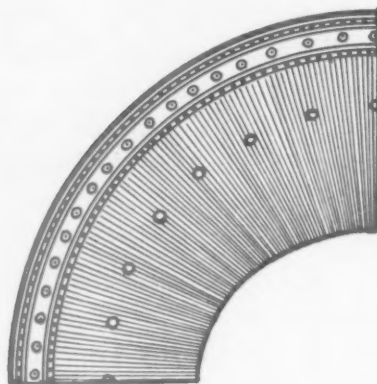
23. Dario Covi, "Lettering in the Inscriptions of the 15th Century Florentine Painting," *Renaissance News*, VII, 1954, 2, pp. 46ff., demonstrates that Fra Angelico was an innovator in the use of lettering in his works. According to Covi, the first time that humanistic characters appear in Florentine

painting is in Fra Angelico's Perugia polyptych. (See the book borne by St. Dominic in Fig. 9.)

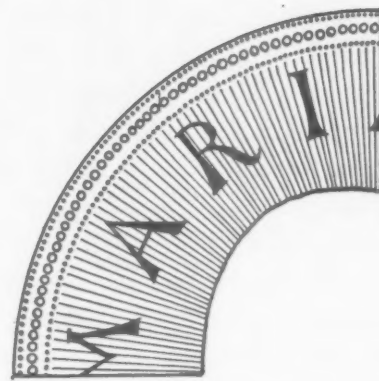
24. Mario Salmi, "Pope-Hennessy: Fra Angelico," *Commentari*, VI, II, 1955, pp. 142-148, discusses the dating of the Cortona *Annunciation*. He rejects the date 1430 which Pope-Hennessy gives as the closest for this painting and, basing his opinion in the architectural elements, puts the *Annunciation* close to the San Marco altarpiece. Possibly a date between the two proposed would be more accurate.



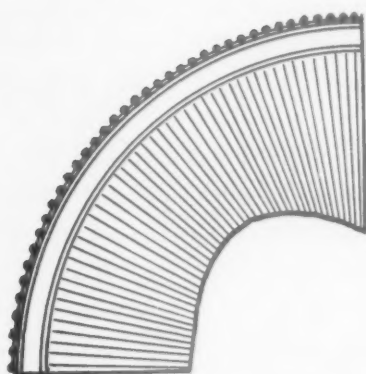
a. Perugia, 1437



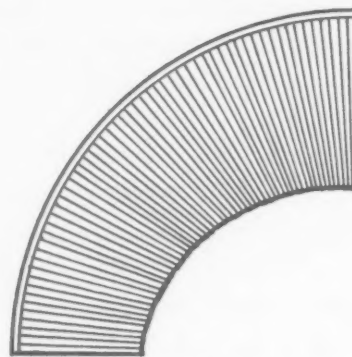
b. San Marco, ca. 1440



c. Bosco ai Frati, 1440's



d. Fogg Crucifixion



e. Silver Chest Panels, 1450's

3. Halos After the Perugia Altarpiece

painted later in his career, such as the *Crucifixion* in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Mass. (text fig. 3d), have halos similar to the San Marco and Bosco ai Frati altarpieces, or even more simplified.

The evolution of the halos coincides with the increasing interest of the master in the problem of light. In the early works we can say that the halos are seen partly as decorative motifs, whereas in the later works they become fields of luminosity.

In the pictures prior to the Linaioli triptych the halos of all the figures in the composition present different patterns with the same style, but there is no established relation among them. From the Linaioli triptych on, however, a relationship between the halos is established according to the importance given to the figures in the composition.

The development of the halo is much more difficult to follow in the predellas than in the main panels. Fra Angelico's authorship of some predellas can be questioned and the participation of assistants in them seems sure. In some instances the predella looks later in date than the main panel, which does not mean a difference in authorship but in chronology.²⁵ In other cases, however, a stylistic study of the predella and the main panel can prove a clear relationship both of chronology and of authorship, one of the most convincing examples being the large San Marco altarpiece.²⁶

25. One clear case is the Louvre *Coronation of the Virgin* where the predella panels show a much more developed style than the main panel, above all in the architectural space and in the handling of the light. The figures also show a physical type different from those appearing in the Coronation scene. However, Domenico Veneziano's participation in the figures of the lower part of the main panel and the whole predella, which Pope-Hennessy considers possible, does not seem easily accept-

able. See Pope-Hennessy, *op.cit.*, p. 173; *idem*, "The Early Style of Domenico Veneziano," *Burlington Magazine*, xciii, 1951, pp. 216ff.

26. The light scheme is a strong factor which should have been used for the reconstruction of the predella of the large San Marco altarpiece. This reconstruction, presented for the first time in the exhibition of the Mostra del Beato Angelico, follows Mario Salmi's initiative. The predella appears formed



1. *Bust of an Angel*. Hartford (Conn.), Wadsworth Atheneum



2. *Madonna and Child*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



3. *Madonna and Child*. Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia



4. *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints* (detail). Florence, Museo di San Marco



5. *Madonna and Child*. Turin, Pinacoteca Sabauda



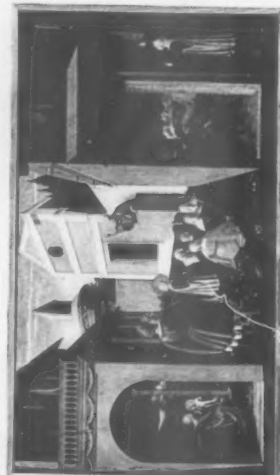
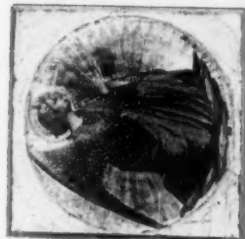
6. *Madonna of Humility*. Washington, National Gallery



7. Detail of Fig. 1



8. Detail of Fig. 2



9. *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints*. Perugia, Galleria dell'Umbria

In the National Gallery in London are the predella panels that seem to belong to the Fiesole altarpiece. This is the earliest extant predella by the master. All the halos of the saints and angels adoring the Resurrected Christ have a pattern in all respects similar to the halo of the Christ Child in the polyptych from the church of San Pietro Martire (text fig. 2b), which has around it a series of small, closely spaced, incised circles between incised lines. Since both this polyptych and the Fiesole altarpiece are considered to have been painted within the same years this similarity is a convincing demonstration of the validity of employing halos as a clue to chronology. The three panels from the predella of the Linaioli triptych, representing two scenes from the legends of SS. Peter and Mark and the *Adoration of the Magi* have halos with small circles in relief on a ground of incised rays surrounded by a narrow band of incised lines.²⁷ Though these panels could be conceivably later than the main panel, they cannot be much later and they are probably contemporary. With the exception of the halos of the Cortona *Annunciation* predella (which are similar to those of the Linaioli predella and are perfectly related to the rest of the altarpiece to which they belong) all the predella panels from later altarpieces have halos decorated only with incised rays.²⁸ Halos with this same pattern appear in all the panels painted in the late 1440's or early 1450's for the silver chest of the Church of the Santissima Annunziata in Florence (text fig. 3e). The hand of assistants is easily traced in several of these panels, but in those considered the work of Fra Angelico himself there appear, for the first and only time in the master's career, halos seen in perspective in the profile figures.²⁹

An analysis of the halos used by the painters who worked in Tuscany at the same time as Fra Angelico or slightly earlier proves that the halo with incised rays in the gold ground and a border with a very simple pattern, started in Fra Angelico's atelier without any influences from his contemporaries. In the generation of painters active in Florence between 1400 and 1440, we find a constant use of halos with floral patterns or with legends in Gothic lettering incised in the gold in the panel paintings. We have already mentioned this fact—with reference to Masolino, Masaccio, and Lorenzo Monaco—in studying Fra Angelico's earliest type of halo in the *Enthroned Madonna* in the Museum of San Marco. The same type of halo was used by other contemporary painters such as Bicci di Lorenzo and Gentile da Fabriano. As a general rule, not without exception, their halos have an external decoration consisting of groups of three dots forming a pyramid, all around the border, as in Fra Angelico's *Enthroned Madonna* just mentioned. At other times the external decoration is only a simple succession of single dots as in the main halos in Fra Angelico's Louvre *Coronation*. Halos with rays are used in fresco paintings by Lorenzo Monaco, Masolino, and Bicci di Lorenzo, but never by Masaccio. Nevertheless, the rays are never incised, but in relief, in accordance with the Florentine tradition, as we shall see below.

by nine panels in a single row, with the Munich *Pietà* in the middle and the first and the last panels attached to the sides of the heavy frame. Salmi, *loc.cit.*, explains his reasons for placing the predella panels in that way. Further information is given by Umberto Baldini, "Contributi all'Angelico: la predella della pala di San Marco e l'Armadio per gli argenti della SS. Annunziata," *Commentari*, VII, II, 1956, pp. 78-85. This reconstruction convincingly concludes a long discussion. Probably Fra Angelico worked with assistants but the unity of the nine panels demonstrates that they were conceived, if not entirely executed, by a single artist who could be no other than the master himself.

27. The figures of the Virgin and Child in the *Adoration of the Magi* panel do not closely correspond to the type of the Virgin and Child in the main panel, and the over-all style of the predella may possibly belong to a somewhat later date.

28. Apart from the pattern of the halos, the predella of the Louvre *Coronation of the Virgin*, the predella panels sup-

posed to belong to the Perugia polyptych, and the nine panels which formed the predella of the large San Marco altarpiece have in common the same type of architecture and a tendency to fill empty ground with flowery meadows. The grass, flowers, and leaves represented in them are very similar, and if not the work of the same artist, they seem to correspond to the same scheme within the same period of time.

29. Another halo seen in perspective occurs in one of the predella panels of the Perugia polyptych. In the scene representing St. Nicholas throwing a Bag of Gold to the Three Maidens, now in the Vatican Gallery (see Fig. 9), the young saint has a halo in perspective seen from the back. This kind of foreshortening is unique, in the work of Fra Angelico and his collaborators. However, a close observation of the head of the saint reveals the outline of an earlier halo in the usual frontal position: i.e. framing the head even when the figure is seen from the back. Therefore, the perspective halo may be considered as an addition.

Of Fra Angelico's disciples the only one well studied, Benozzo Gozzoli, always uses the type of halo he learned from the master. His halos in the main panels are like those in the San Marco and Bosco ai Frati altarpieces and in the predellas like those of the Silver Chest panels or the San Marco predella.³⁰ Although Fra Angelico had certain precedents, he seems to have employed the halo with incised rays as a personal expression probably connected with his interest in luminous effects. The halo with painted or relief rays, on the contrary, has a long history in Florentine painting and also in other Italian schools.³¹ There are Italian frescoes with painted rays as early as the eleventh century.³² Nevertheless, it is in the Cycle of the Old Testament in the upper church of Assisi that the halos with rays acquire importance, but always with a woodcut-like technique that leaves the rays in relief. This same kind of halo appears in Pietro Cavallini's frescoes, in those of his followers, in the other frescoes in Assisi and in Giotto's wall paintings in the Arena Chapel in Padua as well as in the Church of Santa Croce in Florence.³³ Giotto, however, never used halos with rays in his panel paintings. After him, the halo with rays in relief appears rather consistently in fresco and panel paintings of the Florentine school and occasionally the rays are incised in the panel paintings.³⁴ In the second half of the Trecento rays used in the halos as a decorative motif become less frequent and give way to the halos with elaborate floral patterns of the style studied at the beginning of our discussion on Fra Angelico's halos.

In conclusion, Fra Angelico's late type of halo comes as an innovation in his time, though it has precedents in some painters of the Trecento who can hardly have influenced him directly.

IV

As an outcome of this study we can make an attempt to place the *Madonna of the Lily* chronologically within Fra Angelico's work. The relationship between this painting and the Perugia and San Marco altarpieces seems quite obvious. The design of the halos is related in the three pictures and the handling of the light coincides with the Perugia polyptych. The figure of the Virgin corresponds to the Virgin in the San Marco altarpiece in general arrangement and in expression. In both instances the Virgin's mantle leaves part of the hair free and is not fastened over her breast, as it was in the Linaoli, Annalena, and Perugia figures. In addition, its arrangement forms a double S-motif as in the San Marco *Madonna*.³⁵ The resemblance between the two pictures in

30. The study of the characteristics of Fra Angelico's disciples other than Benozzo Gozzoli apart from their collaboration with the master is very difficult. Not even their participation in Fra Angelico's works has been defined in a convincing way. Halos with rays, exactly like Fra Angelico's, appear in panel paintings attributed to Domenico di Michelino, Arcangiolo di Cola da Camerino, and Andrea di Giusto. Bernard Berenson ("Quadri senza casa: Il Quattrocento fiorentino," *Dedalo* XII, 1932, pp. 523-525), reproduces two *Madonnas of Humility* which he attributes to Domenico di Michelino. The first one, apparently lost, is very close to the *Madonna of the Lily* though the angels do not hold a brocade curtain but stand in adoration as do those in Fra Angelico's *Bosco ai Frati* altarpiece. The second example, in the Ofenheim Collection, Vienna, is attributed to Arcangiolo di Cola da Camerino by Ugo Procacci ("Una nuova opera di Arcangiolo di Cola da Camerino," *Rivista d'Arte*, II, 1929, pp. 359-361), and is another interpretation of a similar model. In both instances the halos are absolutely identical with those used by Fra Angelico after the Perugia polyptych. Many other examples of paintings by this group of artists show this same type of halo but we shall not be able to stress the influence of the master until the identity and chronological development of these painters is more firmly established.

31. In the Sienese school the use of the relief rays in the halos is less frequent than in Florence. To my knowledge,

the first artists to use them were the Lorenzetti brothers and they remained an isolated case.

32. See the frescoes in the church of Sant'Angelo in Formis reproduced in L. Coletti, *I primitivi*, I, Novara, 1941, figs. 2, 3.

33. In the frescoes of the Arena Chapel the halos are in perspective in the figures seen in profile while in the frescoes in Santa Croce, which are accepted as later works, the halo in foreshortening never occurs.

34. An example of halo with incised rays in Florentine Trecento painting, though by no means similar to Fra Angelico's halos, is in the Cinelli predella, some panels of which are in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., attributed to a follower of the Santa Cecilia Master and Pacino di Bonaguida by Richard Offner (*Corpus of Florentine Painting*, III, 1, New York, 1947, pls. 34ff.).

35. The mantle leaving free part of the hair of the Virgin appears also in early works by Fra Angelico such as the *Enthroned Madonna* in the Museum of San Marco and the *Fiesole Madonna* but never occurs again until the large San Marco altarpiece. The veil over, instead of underneath the mantle is unusual in the master's extant works. It appears, however, in some dubious works like the *Madonna of Humility* in the National Gallery, Washington (Fig. 6), and in the *Madonna and Child with Saints Dominic and Peter Martyr* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Nevertheless, the style

psychological content is even more striking. A feeling of sadness pervaded the San Marco altarpiece; if we compare the angels to the right of the Madonna in this altarpiece with the angel in the *Madonna of the Lily* the likeness both in external appearance and in inner feeling can easily be perceived.

The derivation of the Amsterdam panel from the Bosco ai Frati altarpiece, which Pope-Hennessy bases on the similar posture of the Child, cannot readily be accepted.³⁶ The Bosco ai Frati altarpiece shows a much more developed style which suggests the Roman period of the artist; moreover, there are basic differences between the figures of the Virgin and Child and those in the *Madonna of the Lily*.³⁷

Among the numerous representations of the Madonna of Humility from Fra Angelico's circle there are two which seem connected with the *Madonna of the Lily*. There are the *Madonna and Child* in the Pinacoteca Sabauda in Turin (Fig. 5) and the *Madonna and Child* from the Propositura di San Michele Arcangelo in Pontassieve, now in the Uffizi Gallery. The attribution of the latter to Fra Angelico may be questioned, though it shows strong characteristics of his style. The *Madonna and Child* in Turin shows an arrangement similar to the *Madonna of the Lily* except that the brocade curtain, almost identical in pattern, opens in front of a Renaissance structure of the architectural type seen in the San Marco altarpiece. The Turin Madonna is also closely related to the Perugia Madonna.

The *Madonna of the Lily* cannot have been painted before the Perugia polyptych because it is too close in style to the San Marco altarpiece. An approximate date for our picture is between 1438 and 1440. If the painting is not entirely Fra Angelico's—and cleaning of the Amsterdam panel would enable us to resolve this problem with much greater assurance—it would seem to be, at least, the work of a good assistant under the immediate supervision of the master.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

of these two works suggests an early period of the master's career. The two of them are actually closely related to each other but not to the *Madonna of the Lily*.

36. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico* . . . , p. 197.

37. One of the differences between the two panels is that

in the Bosco ai Frati altarpiece Fra Angelico uses blue for the color of the Virgin's tunic instead of the traditional light red which he used in the preceding altarpieces, and which also appears in the *Madonna of the Lily*.



RIBERA AND THE BLIND MEN

DELPHINE FITZ DARBY

I. THE BLIND SCULPTOR

AT the time when Jusepe Ribera rose to preëminence among the painters of Naples, a young sculptor with an attractive personality and a singularly gallant spirit achieved a much publicized success in Rome. That the two artists became acquainted with each other is not proved; but there were certainly occasions on which they may have met, for their respective employers were of the same sort, men of wealth, rank, and erudition. Their patrons had in common the intellectuals' interest in all abnormal phenomena—breaches of the laws of probability, manifestations of genius, marvels, even freaks. To them the blind sculptor Gonnelli was surely a prodigy; but for us the appraisal of his natural endowment is impossible since he wrought only in perishable materials and no authentic work survives. Actually his renown was the result of a series of accidents, the latest of which was the attachment of his name, as a title, to a signed painting by Ribera.

The painting (Fig. 1) is not beautiful and, apart from others of its kind, not even very interesting. When, however, we have recognized it as a member of a special class and sought to elucidate its unhappily obscure meaning, we shall find ourselves, as it were, upon a voyage of discovery, encountering rare persons and great souls on the way, and arriving eventually and quite unexpectedly in a rich field, well cultivated but strangely alien and remote.

We begin by considering the fortunes of Giovanni Gonnelli and the lucubrations of a certain Spanish chronicler who was the first to postulate his acquaintance with Ribera. The sculptor was born on April 4, 1603, at Gambassi, an insignificant hamlet in Tuscany.¹ For the vicissitudes of his remarkable career we must accept the testimony of Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1696),² in this case reliable since he knew Gonnelli and guarantees the truth of his statements. He tells us that Duke Carlo Gonzaga, on a casual visit to the workshop of Tacca, perceived the promise of the master's assistant, Gonnelli, and forthwith engaged the young man to execute a commission in Mantua. There the artist was entrapped throughout the fatal year of siege, beginning on July 18, 1630; there he sacrificed his health by carrying earth and rocks for the fortifications, subsisting all the time on meager rations and suffering the ills borne on the mephitic air of the marshes. The eventual lifting of the siege brought freedom but neither hope nor joy to Giovanni; at twenty-eight, he was virtually blind. Returning to his home, he remained idle and disconsolate for years, till one day he discovered that his practiced hands retained the power to repair a certain terra-cotta bust. He experienced a surge of courage as he found that, though relying solely upon tactile perception, he could still make heads of saints and even portrait busts in clay. An exhibition of his work roused amazement and won him enviable patronage. Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, the Genoese nobleman Giovanni Francesco di Giustiniani, Cardinal Pallotta, and Pope Urban VIII were admirably portrayed by the blind prodigy.

Baldinucci, when a boy of fifteen, was the model for one of Gonnelli's heads. Later, compiling his biographies, the historian made the acquaintance of the sculptor's widow, Lisabetta Sesti, his daughter, and his grandchildren. From them he collected anecdotes, including one which, for our purpose, has special import:

1. Thieme-Becker, XIV, p. 370, s.v. Gonnelli, Giovanni Francesco (with important bibliography).

2. F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno* (dedicated to Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany), Florence, 1702,

v, p. 371; VI, pp. 253-258. Assuming an obvious typographical error, I read the word *feste*, occurring on p. 257, as *teste*.

When he was in Rome exhibiting the fine portraits of his hand, there was a person of high estate, who, being unable to persuade himself that Gonnelli worked entirely without sight—because his eye, though long blind, had lost almost nothing of its old beauty—wanted to obtain proof by making him work in a totally dark room. . . .

The concluding remarks of Baldinucci are particularly significant:

Shortly after Gonnelli's death, his house fell in ruins but a portrait in oils escaped, this being a head and bust, with a pair of heads in his hands. This portrait his friends commissioned in Rome in the time of his infirmity; it was preserved till a little while ago by his wife; and today, by reason of her gift, it is in possession of the writer, who has given it a place among other men illustrious in sciences and arts that he has in his museum. This artist was of handsome and jovial aspect, of agreeable manners, and of pleasing and entertaining conversation. He dressed nobly and always went about town resting on the arm of his servant. He did not charge fixed prices but got rich rewards and lived very decently. He had, however, one personal weakness, being exceedingly inclined to love affairs. He played the guitar, sang, and even danced. Bernardo Oldoini of Genoa wrote of Giovanni Gonnelli as of a miracle of our century in his abridgement of the *Istorie del Mondo dal 1635 al 1640* by Orazio Torsellini, S.J., and likewise Pietro Seritio, who was his physician, wrote of him in his *Dissertatio de Unguento Armario, sive de Naturae Artisque Miraculis*, Romae, 1642.

Il Cieco da Gambassi, as his compatriots called him, died about 1664. In the brilliant constellation of seventeenth century artists he could hardly be counted even as a minor star, but his modest flame was not quickly extinguished. A spark, doubtless fanned by Baldinucci, lingered a century later in the memory of Fray Andrés Ximénez, chronicler of the Escorial, who was then engaged upon the expansion of the work of his predecessor Fray Francisco de los Santos. Both chroniclers described that royal suite in the Monastery which the austere Philip II had left bare and which Philip's fatuous great-grandson had seen fit to adorn with paintings chosen from the copious collection inherited from his father; but whereas Padre de los Santos had written of the "religious pictures, to the number of twenty, all admirable originals . . . among these . . . particularly distinguished . . . a burial of Christ by Rivera, and some other pieces by the same hand . . . placed here by Charles II in imitation of the pious taste of his royal predecessors,"³ Padre Ximénez was loath to leave the "other pieces" unnamed. Inclined as he was to preciousness, he could not dismiss them merely as "Five Philosophers," as many another would have done. Unless a vague memory of Baldinucci's story had come to his pondering mind, Ximénez would scarcely have entitled them as he did: "Five originals of Jusepe de Rivera, which represent as many heroes of the Sciences and Arts: Euclid and Archimedes . . . ; the Blind Man of Gambazo, famed in sculpture, measuring by touch the symmetry and lineaments of a head that, the better to feel it, he holds in his hands; . . . Aesop and Chrysippus. . . ."⁴

Because Ximénez's elaborate work provides the definitive account of the Escorial as it was throughout the eighteenth century and is, for its undoubted merit, highly respected, the five titles have held persistently to the paintings described. They were, however, the product of Ximénez's own research and had not been authorized before the publication of his book in 1764. We observe that the Reverend Mr. Edward Clarke, who, in 1760-1761, served as Chaplain to the British Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Madrid, bears witness to the idea then current that the pictures portrayed "Five Philosophers."⁵ One of them he believed to be *Heraclitus*, another *Democritus*; a third, who displays the legend *Ἡσίοπο*, he, like Ximénez, called by the name

3. F. de los Santos, *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, Madrid, 1681, p. 83v. I quote from the English edition, *A Description of the Royal Palace and Monastery of St. Laurence called the Escorial*, tr. by G. Thompson, London, 1760, p. 255, because this edition is of approximately the same date as the works cited in notes 4 and 5.

4. A. Ximénez, *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial*, Madrid, 1764, p. 170. The author's *Euclid*, *Archimedes*, *Aesop*, and *Chrysippus*, as well as other Philosophers, will be discussed in a separate article.

5. E. Clarke (Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Rector of Pepperharrowe), *Letters concerning the Spanish Nation* (written in 1760-1761), London, 1763, p. 152.

of *Aesop*. The other Wise Men did not reveal their identity to the inquisitive English divine; for him they were simply *A Philosopher* and *A Blind Philosopher*. This different nomenclature was surely not of Mr. Clarke's devising; presumably it was imparted to him by one of the Jeronymites who had access to the unpublished inventories of the Monastery. It is therefore suggestive of a clash of opinion.

Moreover, the published result of Ximénez's inquiry did not win universal approval. One dissident voice was soon heard, challenging not the identity of the four Greeks, but directing suspicion to the barbarian interloper, "the Blind Man of Gambazo." The objection, raised as it was, by the learned Antonio Ponz,⁶ should have been heeded; and, indeed, it was sustained by Ceán Bermúdez. This discreet and tireless collector of data doubtless knew that the title conferred by Ximénez had received the commendation of Goya and his colleagues. But, warned by sure instinct that suspension of judgment was here appropriate, he elected to designate the painting by an unimaginative title: "A Blind Man Holding the Head of a Statue."⁷ He might have said, without exaggerating the evidence, that the work presents an aged blind man holding a head of great beauty and rare perfection.

The Blind Man kept its accustomed place in the Escorial until 1836-1837; then, when the treasures of the Monastery were imperiled, it was sent with one hundred and two others of the best works to a refuge provided in Madrid.⁸ His rank among the best was established by the genuine signature that he bears:

Jusepe de Ribera
,F,
1632.

Furthermore, because he presumably preserved the likeness of a sculptor of repute and thus seemed to be one of the very few contemporaries of Ribera portrayed by that esteemed painter, *The Blind Man*, whom Padre de los Santos had virtually ignored, now assumed extraordinary value. *The Philosopher with the Compass*, displaying a similar mark of authenticity, accompanied him; and, in time, *The Philosopher with the Skull Cap*, though unsigned and not included in the chosen one hundred and three, followed them to the Royal Museum.

The two called *Aesop* and *Chrysippus*, left behind, did fall into the hands of the plunderers but were recovered and eventually placed in the Sala Capitular of the Escorial. The decision to let them stand in jeopardy is not censured by modern critics, who reasonably suspect that their association with the others was accidental or, in any event, not formed in Ribera's workshop. Nevertheless, the company of the five Wise Men had been long and firmly established before it was dissolved by the exigency of war.

Now in the Prado, *The Blind Man* is dissociated from his old companions, the putative *Euclid* and *Archimedes*. He appears as "The Blind Man of Gambazo . . . with a head of Apollo, of marble or plaster . . . palpating it to study . . . the proportions and the form,"⁹ or as "Gambasio, sculptor blind since childhood."¹⁰ Only recently Miss Trapier has courageously raised valid objection to the time-honored title;¹¹ but probably no one was ever thoroughly content with it. Ximénez,

6. A. Ponz, *Viage de España*, 3rd ed., Madrid, 1788, II, p. 225.

7. J. A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario de los mas ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, IV, p. 190; cf. P. de Madrazo, *Viaje artístico . . . por las colecciones de cuadros*, Barcelona, 1884, p. 252, on the inventory made by Bayeu, Goya, and Gómez in 1794.

8. V. Poleró y Toledo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, llamado del Escorial*, Madrid, 1857, pp. 14, 180, nos. 419 and 482.

9. P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del*

Prado, 10th ed., Madrid, 1910, no. 1112. Cf. *Museo del Prado, Catálogo* (with an introduction by F. J. Sánchez Cantón), Madrid, 1933, p. 818.

10. E. Tormo, *Ribera en el Museo del Prado (El arte en España, XXI)*, Barcelona, s.d., fig. 8.

11. E. Du G. Trapier, *Ribera*, New York, 1952, pp. 77-81; 234. Wholly in agreement with Miss Trapier that *The Blind Man* is not Gonnelli, I do not accept her theory that he represents *The Sense of Touch* for the reasons stated in the Appendix below.

remembering Baldinucci's words "a portrait in oils . . . a head and bust (of a blind man) with a pair of heads in his hands . . . among others illustrious in the sciences and arts," was impressed by the coincidence; but even he had to admit, however tacitly, that the defect of the man of "Gambazo" precluded the use of the chisel and so to concede that he was not exhibiting his own work but examining that of another. Madrazo too would have been more confident if the marble head had been executed in a likely medium and, for that reason, suggested that it might be made of plaster.

The circumspect critic cannot but note that Baldinucci's verbal picture shows no traits characteristic of Ribera's *Blind Man*. The latter wears a threadbare coat; he has a split seam on the left shoulder and a coarse ill-matched patch on the right sleeve. In spite of this crude attempt at repairs, he is out-at-the-elbow. He is so ill-dressed that, as we reflect on the neatness of Montañés, when he sat for Velasquez, and on the pride that seventeenth century artists had in their bettered social position, we are amazed that a sculptor, described as nobly dressed and well rewarded by patrons, would permit a painter to depict him in tatters. Ribera's model has not that hint of light or life in his eye that would lead a man to doubt his blindness and thus make experiment in a darkened room. He is not in any sense a beau; not, by any strain of the imagination, flirtatious, amorous, jovial, jocular, convivial, or sociable. We shall soon confirm our present suspicion that, when identified, he will prove to be a person whom the very antonyms will fit.

Gonnelli, we think, would have posed with one of his own products, executed in the clay or wax to which he was restricted. But, lacking tools and unwrought material, Ribera's *Blind Man* gives no assurance that he was indeed a sculptor. The man of Gambassi was not known as a copyist of Greek marbles or as a collector of relics. Baldinucci's evidence that he customarily applied to his works a greenish patina, such as one sees on ancient metal,¹² implies no attempt to forge antiques but an expedient adopted because the artist was incapable of using polychrome tints. He could not, like Praxiteles, call upon a Nicias to color his sculpture, for the least suspicion of collaboration would have diminished the wonder whence came his success. We note in passing that the heads displayed by *The Blind Man* were not painted green.

Moreover, Ribera's subject is an old man. When the painter wrote the date 1632 on his canvas, Gonnelli was twenty-nine years of age. Not yet recovered from his wretched experience, he may have appeared ten or fifteen years older. But, picture him as we will—lean, lined, bent, bald, groping, desperate—still we cannot believe that the young man looked like the septuagenarian of the Prado; and, though we may reject Baldinucci's assertion that he was idle for years after his ordeal and refuse to entertain a modern critic's suspicion that he had still a modicum of vision when he signed papers in 1637, we do not presume that the fame of the blind sculptor followed so hard upon his release from Mantua as to reach Naples by 1632. Nor do we suspect the accuracy of Ribera's date, for the style of the painting is typical of the period 1630-1635. If the work had been executed in 1652, the year of Jusepe's death—this being a condition that we do not seriously concede—even then Giovanni would have been little past his prime, prospering, and, apart from his blindness, comely and sound. Hence we conclude that the model was not the sculptor Giovanni Gonnelli da Gambassi.

II. THREE BLIND MEN

There would be much satisfaction in summoning as a witness one who could prove that *The Blind Man* of the Prado and the *Blind Man* of Gambassi were not the same—the *Gonnelli* of Baldinucci's museum. Unfortunately he has vanished; or, being a person whose eyes retained something of their old beauty, he may exist unrecognized.

12. Baldinucci, *op.cit.*, VI, p. 255.



1. Jusepe Ribera, *The Blind Man*. Here identified as *The Philosopher Carneades*.
Madrid, Museo del Prado (Courtesy Museo del Prado)



2. Lieven Mehus, *The Blind Man*. Print after a painting formerly in the Galleria Gerini (From *Emporium*, xxii, 1905, p. 122)



3. Luca Giordano, *The Blind Man*.
Château de Villandry, Carvallo Collection
(photo: Giraudon)

We can, however, examine another *Blind Man* (Fig. 2), who bears a document of the eighteenth century, purporting that he represents Gonnelli. It reads:

R. Allegranti dis.

Verlet inc.

Ritratto di Fran.^{co} Gonnelli detto il Cieco di Gambassi Quadro
di Livio Meus, alto Palm. rom. 8 Largo P. 3½.

The bearer is further identified as no. xviii of the *Raccolta di ottanta stampe di quadri della Galleria Gerini*,¹³ and is seemingly the only available representative of a certain painted *Blind Man* whose existence is recorded in the catalogue of the Gerini Collection thus:¹⁴

Num. 204. Livio Mehus: Il Cieco da Gambassi, in atto di modellare la Creta, dalla Pittura. Figura intera al naturale,
Alteza B.^a 3.7.4; Larghezza B.^a 2.6.4.

The Gerini work disappeared about 1825. The painter, Lieven Mehus, was born in Oudenaerde in 1630 and died in Florence in 1691. He was the apprentice of Pietro da Cortona when the great decorator was charged by Grand Duke Ferdinand to execute the murals of the Palazzo Pitti (1641-1647). After three years of military service in France, Lieven returned to Florence and, as a painter, served first the Grand Duke and later the Marquis Carlo Gerini. The latter, says Baldinucci, possessed a *Bacchus and Ariadne* and a *Self-portrait* by Mehus.¹⁵ As he had an excellent opportunity to paint the blind sculptor Gonnelli, who was, like him, a protégé of the Grand Duke, he may well be the painter engaged by Giovanni's friends to make his portrait "in the time of his infirmity." This may have been executed as late as 1664, the presumed year of the sculptor's death. But we note that the *Ritratto di . . . Gonnelli, detto il Cieco di Gambassi* is not derived from the same model as the painting with the similar title in the Prado. Representing a younger blind man, strong and robust in comparison, it violates chronology.

Nevertheless, Ribera's *Blind Man* and Mehus' have something in common. If the dress of Jusepe's subject seems hardly appropriate, that of Lieven's is in a different way unsuitable. Why should Gonnelli pose for the Fleming in the sort of costume that Pietro da Cortona's school deemed appropriate to ancient Greeks and Romans? Why should he go barefoot, like a blind peddler, with a staff to support him and a dog to guide his steps, when, in fact, he went abroad fashionably dressed, leaning on the arm of his servant? Why does he have an ancient relief beside him, and why palpate the marble head of a Greek when he ought to model some work of his own? We think that, as Mehus painted, the features of his blind colleague came naturally to mind, but that he had some purpose other than that of portraying Gonnelli.

We turn now to a third *Blind Man* (Fig. 3). He is worse dressed than the others, his motley rags revealing his bare breast and arm. Nevertheless, he has a sensitive face, and his fingers, as they study the single sculptured head lying beside him, are graceful and expert. He is a close relative of Ribera's subject, probably a creature of the Neapolitan Luca Giordano (1632-1705). He is younger than Jusepe's *Blind Man*, who was already venerable in the year that Luca was born; but, in spite of marked difference of physiognomy, he bears some resemblance to the older person. The model of the Neapolitan and that of the Fleming appear to be of the same age; otherwise they are dissimilar. Unlike the others, Giordano's subject has never pretended to be *Il Cieco da Gambassi*. If he had done so, he would have excited grave suspicion, for Gonnelli, though a prodigy, did not grow younger with the accretion of his years.

13. C. Ajraghi, "Giovanni Gonnelli detto il Cieco da Gambassi," *Emporium*, xxii, 1905, pp. 122-126. The *Raccolta di ottanta stampe* was published by Bardi and Pagni, Florence, 1786.

14. *Catalogo e stimi dei quadri e bronzi . . . del Sig.*

Marchese Giovanni Gerini a Firenze, Florence, 1825.

15. Baldinucci, *op.cit.*, vi, p. 605. Cf. Thieme-Becker, xxiv, p. 339, s.v. Mehus, Lieven. Mehus' *Self-portrait* and his *Satyr with a Goat* are in the Galleria Corsini in Florence.

Luca's *Blind Man* conveys the important information that he has been of late in the Touraine, at Dr. Carvalho's residence, the Château de Villandry, where he was one of a company of Philosophers;¹⁶ and, in truth, he displays the wallet and staff, which were peculiar and significant properties of the ancient Wise Men of Greece. Thus he moves us to inquire whether one of these was blind.

III. THE BLIND PHILOSOPHER

A nice sense of decorum made the Greeks curiously reticent on the subject of the Blind Philosopher. For them blindness had a strange fascination, being recognized by religious persons as an equitable punishment for ὕβρις and by inquiring minds as a privation accompanied by compensating gifts. Thus the blind poet sang more sweetly or more nobly; the blind seer prophesied more surely. But the Wise Man, on the other hand, could not properly dispense with the best of his five wits. Had he not defined them, and were they not his very tools? Metaphorical blindness was, of course, not rare even among Philosophers; to the Stoics, it was a derisible affliction that frequently plagued their adversaries, the Academics. When one of the latter denied the φαντασία καταληπτική and declared himself unsure of the existence of some object before his eyes, the Stoic rejoined, "You must be blind!"¹⁷ A subtle insult was implied, for sight was so indispensable to the Zenonist that in his opinion a wise blind man could or would not exist—he would have preferred suicide.¹⁸ Whether one should take the desperate course was freely argued in the schools. Epicurus, ever hostile to the Men of the Porch, though he valued his senses as much as they, rendered his judgment: "the wise man . . . even when he has lost his sight, will not withdraw himself from life."¹⁹ He was not put to the test; but the cruel fate was, as the Stoic perhaps thought fitting, actually reserved for one of the greatest of the Academic Philosophers.

Diogenes Laertius, the only biographer of the Wise Men whose work has survived, writes of the blindness of Carneades with such concision that the inattentive reader is in danger of missing the point: "It is said that one night his eyes went [totally and permanently] blind and that [at first] he did not realize this. So he called the boy to bring the lamp; and the boy, having brought it, said, 'I have brought it.' 'Well then,' said Carneades, 'You shall read to me.'"

Here then is the story of the Blind Philosopher. Our reading, slightly expanded in the interest of explicitness,²⁰ makes what seems a trivial anecdote worth telling. We hear no unremarkable tale of an old man whose eyes would still serve him in daylight, but rather the dramatic episode of a man who drowsed, while reading in the dusk, and awakened to know that he could not see the one thing that the almost blind may still perceive—the light of a lamp in a dark room. We do not presume to document the blindness of Carneades;²¹ we freely admit that it may be a myth; we are concerned only with the fact that, in this passage of Diogenes Laertius, the humanists could find the story that explains Ribera's painting.

The biography of Carneades is not among the best of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*. Debt to Alexander Polyhistor, Favorinus, and Apollodorus of Athens is acknowledged without precision by the author. From sources now lost he created a mosaic of ill-ordered notes and quotations. We can perhaps distinguish three narrative styles: factual, imaginative, anecdotal. Once the fact of

16. J. Milward, "The Carvalho Collection of Spanish Art," *International Studio*, LXXXIV, August, 1926, p. 17.

17. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, VII, 163.

18. *ibid.*, VII, 130.

19. *ibid.*, X, 120.

20. Admittedly, the indication of stress in the boy's reply and the words placed within brackets are not to be found in translations. To preserve the concision of the Greek, though explicitness be sacrificed, is normally the translator's ideal. We, however, have taken Cicero's advice "to use several words to

give what is expressed in Greek by one, if the sense cannot be otherwise conveyed" (*De finibus* iii. 15). We have read nothing between the lines. All that we have said is implicit in the two correlative infinitives of the indirect discourse: ὑποχρῆσθαι and ἀγνοεῖν; the tense of the first is aorist and of the second historical present. The contrast is deliberate, intended to convey that Carneades' blindness was definitive and his failure to realize it temporary.

21. C. Vick, *Quaestiones Carneadeae*, Rostock, 1901, pp. 8, 19 (*de Carneadis caecitate agitur recte Hermippo attribueretur*).

Carneades' blindness is accepted, the more or less veiled significance of certain of the constituent fragments is clarified. This is especially suggestive: "They say that at the time Carneades died, an eclipse of the moon occurred; and one might say that the brightest luminary next to the sun thus gave token of her sympathy."²² These must be the words of one of those romanticists who apprehend Nature as sentient, who fancy that the shooting star bears import, that the sighing of the seas signaled the death of Pan, that the quake that rent the temple's veil presaged the fall of the Thunderer. The narrator permits us to infer that, for a brief moment, the light of night was hidden from all eyes, as it had forever been withdrawn from Carneades.

In the prosaic passages we find the relevant comment that the Philosopher neglected to cut his hair and nails, that he did not go to banquets or enjoy the company of his fellow men; and we reflect that careless grooming and the ways of the recluse are to be expected of blind old men. On the lecture platform, however, he was an eloquent orator, attracting great crowds by his fine, powerful voice. Once, when the keeper of the gymnasium admonished him to speak lower, Carneades asked for the means to regulate his voice. "You have a measure of it in your audience," replied the man, suggesting perhaps that the speaker could not see how many hearers were assembled.

As an orator-philosopher, Carneades had a special distinction. He was the first of his profession to address a Roman assembly. This he did in 156 B.C., when the Athenians sent him, with Critolaus the Peripatetic and a Stoic named Diogenes, to plead for the reduction of a fine.²³ While the negotiations progressed, Carneades found opportunity to deliver on succeeding days his two famous discourses: *For Justice* and *Against Justice*. The Romans, who had never before seen a Philosopher, nor tasted the delight nor sensed the attractive perils of free inquiry, rose to the occasion with the boundless enthusiasm of initiates. The consequent rousing of thought appeared so dangerous to Cato the Censor that this pusillanimous official sought a pretext for sending the three Wise Men back to Greece. But Rome had been profoundly stirred; a generation of aliens devoted to Carneades would soon mature; the Greek would win an illustrious Roman disciple.

Cicero (106-43 B.C.) revered Carneades, always regretting that he was born too late to hear him and envying his fortunate elders, his "father-in-law, Scaevola, who, as a school boy in Rome, had heard him speak, and Quintus Metullus, the intimate friend, who, as a youth in Athens, attended many days the lectures of this celebrated philosopher, then almost broken with age," (*De oratore* III. 68). When Cicero was himself in Athens, he went in the company of four other young men to visit the Academy, then in a state of desuetude. With his lively imagination Cicero evoked the spirit of Carneades. "I fancy that I see him now," he cried—and we fancy that we hear the Roman's passionate voice—"I fancy that I see him, for his portrait is well known, and I can conceive that the very place where he used to sit misses the sound of his voice and mourns the loss of that mighty intellect." (*De finibus* v. 4)

The preservation of the memory of Carneades, at least in the West, is largely due to Cicero. In Greece his fame was destined to diminish rapidly not only because his keen wit made enemies but because he left no books. Neither, of course, did Socrates write. But Carneades had the worse luck in that Clitomachus, who essayed to set down his teaching, had not the gifts of Plato. Among his Greek contemporaries, the leaders of the dogmatic sects detested him and were as zealous as Cato in their attempt to suppress him. In the Middle Ages, the great Christian thinkers must have regarded him as a dangerous skeptic, if indeed they knew him at all. Like the unjustly vilified Epicurus, Carneades was excluded from the Noble Castle of Limbo. But the climate of opinion changes; and the seventeenth century produced a new generation, sufficiently hardy to

22. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, IV, 64.

Laertius' *Lives* but in Plutarch's *Life of Cato Major*, xxii.

23. The account of this mission does not appear in Diogenes

conquer fear and prejudice, bold enough to reinstate these outcasts. It is surely no accident that this generation, the first since that of Cicero to pay homage to Carneades, embraced both Ciceronians and such distinguished thinkers as the physician Francisco Sánchez *el Escéptico* (d. 1620) and the great René Descartes (d. 1630).

IV. A SPANISH CICERO

In this time lived Fernando Afán de Ribera Enríquez Girón y Guzmán, the third Duke of Alcalá de los Gazules (1584?-1637). Very different from the rakish young noblemen of his age who wasted their years at the Universities of Salamanca and Alcalá, he was a diligent scholar; and, being also the heir to a fortune incomparably rich, he acquired "one of the most copious libraries known in the world . . . not just to adorn his famous palace in Seville . . . but to provide matter for his studious inclination."²⁴ His secretary, Lorenzo Salazar, seeking to praise him, recalled, as if it had been the Duke's own motto, the Ciceronian maxim: "Nulla possessio, nulla vis auri & argenti, pluris quam virtus aestimanda est," (*Paradoxa stoicorum*, 48).²⁵

Like Cicero, Fernando began his political career with an oration. The occasion was the ceremony accompanying the sanctification of Pope Urban VIII in 1624. The news that the erudite Cardinal Francesco Barberini had been elected to the papacy had caused dismay in Madrid, for His Holiness was regarded as Francophile and Hispanophobe. Hope was held that the congratulatory oration, delivered in the name of the King of Spain, would, if it were truly impressive, raise the prestige of the nation. The premier, Olivares, must have been reluctant to designate as orator a man who bore the names of Girón and Ribera—the names of that very Duke of Osuna whom Olivares had disgraced, and of his widow; but the minister could not but recognize Fernando's superior qualifications. The Duke spoke commendably; he was applauded, and, though the supposition is not proved, Lope de Vega or some such master of hyperbole may have called him the "Cicero of his age."²⁶

Fernando himself could scarcely fail to observe certain obvious congruencies that made of his own and Cicero's a pair of "parallel lives." As statesmen, both Roman and Sevillian suffered dismissal in disgrace and enjoyed restitution in triumph. They discharged the comparable duties of consul and viceroy in the provinces, both serving in Sicily. Their younger brothers, Quintus Cicero and Pedro Girón,²⁷ were soldiers of some distinction; their wives, Terentia and Beatriz de Mora, were rich and well connected. They had faithful amanuenses, Tiro and Antonio de Herrera; jealous enemies, Clodius and Monterrey; kinsmen by marriage no less attracted to the old Philosophers than themselves, Atticus and Medina-Celi. Each of them had one son and one daughter. The boys, their namesakes, young Marcus and young Fernando, were both raffish youths, distressing their fathers with wild escapades. The girls were gently nurtured and early married. Only the premature death of Alcalá, which, though not violent, was chargeable to the service of the state, spared him the knowledge that María, his heir, would prove too delicate for

24. I quote from the preface of a curious book, known only through the unique example in possession of the Hispanic Society of America. Lacking the title page but presumably published in Seville in 1619, it begins: "*Al lector . . . Escribió el Duque mi Señor [Don Fernando Afán de Ribera y Enríquez] en Sevilla este papel sobre el título de la Cruz de Christo, que (como en el dize) vio en la casa de Francisco Pacheco, estudioso Pintor de aq. la ciudad,*" etc. The book appears to be a collection of notes and correspondence, the publication of which was not authorized by the Duke.

25. *ibid.*, concluding sentence of the "*Al lector.*"

26. Such extravagant comparisons were usual. García de Salcedo predicted of Fernando's son and namesake, who wrote and published a long poem, *Fabula de Myrra*, Naples, 1631, before his seventeenth birthday, that he would be "a Vergil

or a Tasso." In the *Laurel de Apolo*, Silva II, Lope praised the Duke's father, a sonneteer, and of the Duke himself wrote:

Príncipe, cuya fama esclarecida
por virtudes y letras será eterna,
en quanto el sol su eclíptica gobierna;
pues advirtiéndolo a tantas facultades,
se ven en una edad tantas edades.

In 1621 Lope dedicated to Alcalá *Lo cierto por lo dudoso* and in 1624 *La grandeza de Alejandro*.

27. In accordance with an old custom of the family of Afán de Ribera, this second son was known by the name of his maternal grandfather and hence was the homonym of his first cousin, who was also his uncle-in-law, the Duke of Osuna. See D. Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, Madrid, 1677, pp. 574, 614, 619, 665.

motherhood. Even so, Fernando did not escape a bereavement like the Roman's; in fact, the two were never so much alike as when, mourning the loss of a favorite child,²⁸ they begged without success to be released from public duties, that they might retire to the estates where they had installed their books and their portraits of the Greek Philosophers.

Cicero's portraits were copies of Greek marbles and bronzes, likenesses fairly close to the original; and, as these were not rare, they must have been easily recognized by the cultured guests at the villa in Tusculum. The Wise Men that Jusepe de Ribera painted for the Duke of Alcalá were frankly modern paintings, containing no hint of imitation of the antique. They are not, however, of the same kind as the purely whimsical "portraits" of the ancients displayed in the palaces at Como, Florence, and Mondragone.

All these iconographical series, whether authentic or fantastic, owed their existence to a circumstance mentioned by Cicero, Suetonius, Horace, and Juvenal—that possession of portraits of *literati* and philosophers was the mark of a man of means, taste, and learning. If the later owners of such things had not these attributes, they at least pretended to them. Among these collectors Fernando de Ribera had singular advantages. He was born late enough to appreciate the humanistic activities of the Neapolitan antiquarian Pirro Ligorio, of the Portuguese savant Achille Statius, of Fulvio Orsini, the curator of the Farnese Library and Museum. As a child, he had become familiar with certain antique marbles displayed in his ancestral palace in Seville since Pope Pius V had given them to Perafán, the first Duke of Alcalá; as a man, he may have regretted that the gift included few, if any, truly ancient busts suitable to adorn the splendid library that he had acquired. He owned, no doubt, the volumes of Statius, Orsini, and Faber and, through their illustrations engraved by Lafréry and Gallé, knew something of the portraits of the Philosophers.²⁹ *The Lives* of Diogenes Laertius was readily accessible. After the first edition, published in 1533, came others, superior in that they were based on better texts; toward the close of the sixteenth century, the emended *Lives*, with an improved Latin version, had been made available through the auspices of Cardinal Aldobrandino. Possessing books of this sort and being a classical scholar with a flair for historical inquiry, the Duke of Alcalá was equipped to undertake archaeological research on his own account. When at length he became Viceroy of Naples and thus the protector of Jusepe Ribera, who had furnished convents with what seemed to be living images of the Apostles, he commanded the talent that could make his library a meeting place of *Philosophi rediivi*. The Casa de Pilatos, where it was installed, was, in fact, the rendezvous of the Sevillian savants.

Alcalá could argue that his pictures were as much portraits as were the ancient busts of Homer, for, on the precedent of these, a likeness is no less a portrait because it is imagined. If drawn from life, a portrait may be a faithful but limited record of physical phenomena; or, made by a genius, it may be the translation of these into a rich spiritual characterization. The greatest of all portraits are, to a considerable extent, subjective. But, should the artist idealize one who is unworthy, should he depend much on recollection, should he copy his own work or that of another with intent to improve upon it, he may fall into conventions and even dissipate the personality that he seeks to enhance. He will have sacrificed truth to a specious effect. This danger of generality is the more menacing to him who would make an imagined portrait, because he cannot avoid it by close observation of his subject. The enduring characterization has been transmitted to him; but he must recreate the perishable substance. He must not bridle his imagination but rather

28. Fernando, Marquis of Tarifa, died in Palermo, November 11, 1633, of an epidemic disease which proved fatal also to his infant son. The Duke's son-in-law, Luis de Aragón y Moncada, Principe di Paternò, later Duke of Montalto, godfather of Ribera's daughter and eventually the patron of Novelli, *il Monrealese*, succeeded to the estates and titles of

Alcalá in 1637 but relinquished them in 1638 when María died without issue. The inheritance then passed to Pedro's daughter Ana, Duchess of Medina-Celi.

29. A. Statius, *Illustrum virorum . . . vultus*, Rome, 1569; F. Orsini, *Imagines illustrium*, Rome, 1570; J. Faber, *Illustrum imagines*, Antwerp, 1606.

spur it till the specific details of the lost face are visible to his "mind's eye." His difficulties were doubtless appreciated by Jusepe Ribera; yet they were accepted and even welcomed.

The portraits of Alcalá were not strictly inventions, for they were constructed upon actual foundations, though these were often slender and precarious. Much matter that had wasted away was recovered by the research and the skill of the two Riberas. The nobleman inquired into the identity of the ancient busts which, after many centuries, had lately emerged to become again the treasures of Italian collections; the painter studied them, conversed with them till their rigidity relaxed, and then gave them the color and the characteristic posture of life.³⁰ The portraits were not to be labeled.³¹ We surmise that the ingenious Duke anticipated the pleasure of showing them and inviting the curious to guess who they were. In such pleasure we can share even now.

V. THE HEAD OF PANISCUS

As a mark of identification the Philosophers did have symbols—*insignias para ser conocidos*—even as St. Peter has his keys and St. Jerome his parchments. Because most of the Wise Men studied and wrote much, they were frequently pictured with books, papers, charts, globes, and writing implements. Socrates, who disdained such things, had a peculiar attribute, the mirror;³² and Diogenes, who rudely scorned the scholar's properties, would be known by his lantern. But what visible object would signify Carneades, who, it is said, could not see the lighted lamp, who wrote nothing and was remembered chiefly for his wit and his splendid voice? The question might have begged an answer had not the Ciceronian scholar suggested, "The head of a statue, and let it be made of Chian marble and attributable to Praxiteles!"

The Roman pretended to record a debate between a Stoic, whose lines are read by his brother Quintus, and Carneades, whose congenial part is played by Marcus himself (*De divinatione* i. 23). Quintus argued that, if four dice were cast and a Venus throw resulted,³³ that would be chance; but, if one hundred casts produced one hundred Venus throws, this would be a sign of divine intervention; if paints thrown at random created not the semblance of a head but a copy of Apelles' Venus of Cos, or, if a hog, having accidentally formed "A" in the muck, proceeded to spell out the whole of the *Andromache*, these too would be miracles of the gods. He continued:

Carneades used to have a story that, once in the Chian quarries when a stone was split open, there appeared the head of Paniscus; I grant that the figure may have borne some resemblance to the god; but assuredly the resemblance was not such that you could ascribe the work to a Scopas. For it is undeniably true that no perfect thing was ever made by chance.

At length (*ibid.* ii. 48), Marcus made his rebuttal:

"For the Venus throw to result from one cast of four dice might be due to chance; but if one hundred Venus throws resulted from one hundred casts, this could not be due to chance?" I do not know why it could not . . . you are full of the same sort of examples . . . you mentioned that myth from Carneades about the head of Paniscus—as if the likeness could not have been the result of chance! And as if every block of marble did not necessarily have within it heads worthy of Praxiteles! For his masterpieces were made by chipping away . . . the work had always been inside the block. Therefore, it is possible that some such figure as Carneades described did spontaneously appear . . . *Sed sit hoc fictum*.

Doubtless much of this was made up, some of it by Cicero himself. But conceivably Carneades had offered the case of the dice, the painting, the poem, and the sculpture, all as hypothetical

30. C. Justi, *Velasquez und sein Jahrhundert*, Bonn, 1888, I, p. 120, ". . . his [Ribera's] figures and heads, by the side of all the Duke of Alcalá's great paintings, seem lifelike and the rest painted, although they have for neighbor Guido of Bologna," (quoted from Pacheco's *Diálogo de la pintura*). Cf. p. 325, "For the same learned nobleman [Alcalá] were made the pictures of Beggar Philosophers, among them an 'Archimedes,' Prado 1010 [now 1121], of 1630."

31. Legends such as "Anassagora" and "Scylapio" are spurious and strongly suggestive of the Italian copyists who supplied the enormous demand for Philosophers.

32. D. F. Darby, "The Wise Man with a Looking-Glass," *Art in America*, XXXVI, 1948, pp. 113-126.

33. Venus supposedly directed this lucky throw in which, no pair occurring, each of the dice showed a different face.

cases. Or if some adversary had claimed to witness the hundred Venus casts or had brought the head for inspection, hoping thus to evoke a suggestion that the dice were loaded or that the marble was a work of art that had become cemented in rubble, Carneades would not have been trapped into divagation; he had been prepared to suggest hypotheses; for the sake of the argument, he would have assumed that there was no deceit.³⁴

Today we may regard the debate *De divinatione* as something of esoteric interest, known only to Ciceronians and students of philosophy. But in the seventeenth century the battle of Stoic and Academic was actually joined again, when Augustinians and Jesuits disputed the question of Predestination. The latter based arguments of their own upon this doctrine of chance occurrence once propounded by Carneades, citing him as the great Antipredestinarian.³⁵

Within the microcosm of the Spanish court at Naples were many kinds of people who might have been intrigued by the passage we have cited, though some can have had but the vaguest knowledge of its author. Here were profound theologians and vociferous agnostics, eminent Latinists and learned mathematicians, and, far below them in the social scale, professional gamblers and mountebanks, these preying upon an uncommonly superstitious populace. Here were numerous entertainers, exhibiting the tricks of trained apes and birds, and perhaps those clever and seemingly nonchalant performers, such as we all have seen, who make recognizable caricatures by throwing bits of colored clay at some board fully twenty paces distant. Here too were serious sculptors like Fansaga and painters like Ribera, who valued their hard won skills and would never be convinced that works like theirs could be produced by chance. Here, above all, was the Duke of Alcalá, Viceroy in 1629-1631, who read Greek well and Latin even better, who doubtless knew enough of mathematics to be assured that it is possible, though extremely improbable, to cast one hundred successive Venus throws.³⁶

Fernando had, at any rate, an advantage over Cicero in that John Napier, Baron of Merchiston, had lately published his treatise, *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis descriptio*, 1614. Napier the younger and a professor of astronomy at Oxford, Henry Briggs of Yorkshire (d. 1631), so amplified this work that by 1628 the logarithms of all natural numbers up to 100,000 had been computed. In view of the Duke's fame as an avid bibliophile,³⁷ there is a good chance that some book on logarithms was preoccupying him when he charged Jusepe to paint *Carneades with a Head by Praxiteles*.

Even though the wondrous head had never existed except in Carneades' imagination, how real it must have seemed to the connoisseur and the painter! How ingenious and how pathetic to portray *The Blind Philosopher* standing behind his desk on the lecture platform, showing the fine marble to his audience, feeling it as if to "see" whether it really was, as it appeared, a work attributable to Praxiteles!

The head might as well have been a Pallas by Phidias, an Ares by Scopas, or any god by any master. But Cicero knew that specificity improves a good story, and, with no restriction upon his choice, he would disdain to mention any name except the best. He knew that Praxiteles³⁸ excelled in the treatment of the head and that the sculptor had revealed to Phryne a secret preference for two of his works, one of them being his *Satyr*. As Cicero wrote of Paniscus, he presumably had in mind the statue of a Satyr that Romans described as the young Pan or the Faunus. This is the work that, in the nineteenth century, was often called "The Marble Faun"—this being the title

34. In a similar dialogue (*De natura deorum* iii. 15), the Academic provisionally accepts the Stoic's allegation that he has heard the utterances of a Faun, interjecting, "But what on earth a Faun may be, I do not know."

35. P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, English ed. (entitled *A General Dictionary*), London, 1736, IV, p. 131. The *editio princeps* of 1695-1697 was enlarged in 1702.

36. I understand that this would happen once in a number of times that can be expressed by no fewer than fifty-six digits.

37. Ortiz de Zúñiga, *op.cit.*, p. 665. Alcalá's libraries included those of Dr. Luciano de Negrón and Ambrosio Morales.

38. Quintus had previously mentioned Scopas. As the text was not emended, we get the impression that Marcus, as polite as he was cultured, was here correcting a slip too slight for special notice.

fixed upon it by that American author who, by coincidence, wrote also of another head wrought in stone by the inscrutable power of Nature.

But Andalusian archaeologists of the seventeenth century, the friends and consultants of Fernando de Ribera, would have been unsure of the proper guise of Paniscus. They knew that he must be the young Pan, perhaps the same as he who had been the mythical ruler of their own land.³⁹ Quite fortuitously they had found in their soil an ancient stone altar with an inscription which they read thus:

PANTHEO. AUG.
SACRUM
LICINIUS. ADAMAS
LIB. FAUST. II
VIR. AUG.

The relic was the cause of a blunder that did not eventuate too badly. Pantheus, which is here merely a synonym of *Divus*, they mistook for a composite of the Greek words $\pi\alpha\nu$ and $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$; and, knowing that $\pi\alpha\nu$ means "all" and that the Greek religion evinced in its late stage a tendency to monotheism, they fancied, as did their contemporary, John Milton, that this Pantheus was the representative of the pagan pantheon. Martín de Roa thought that he should be pictured like "Jupiter or the Sun, because in him all things are united"; but Rodrigo Caro, citing the twenty-ninth epigram of Ausonius Gallus, declared that Pantheus was none other than Bacchus.⁴⁰ Their research may not have been undertaken expressly for the sake of Ribera's painting; but it was timely; and certainly both antiquarians had claim upon Alcalá's respect.⁴¹ They were fortunate in that they did not visualize Pan in the character of Ovid's semi-caper; by a somewhat devious route, they attained a fairly satisfactory idea of the nature of Paniscus. Ribera was authorized to paint not precisely the Faunus but a similar Praxitelean *ephebos*, an Apollo or a Dionysus. Thus he made Carneades hold what seems to be a copy of the *Sauroctonus* rather than of the *Satyr*. The head in relief that lies beside the Philosopher appears nonessential; it may be significant of the divergent opinion of the Ciceros. It contributes something to the pictorial composition, but, for the theme, one head would have sufficed.

The Blind Man of Mehus (Fig. 2) also holds a Greek head. It is of a type now recognized as the bearded Dionysus but, till late in the nineteenth century, mistaken for the portrait of Plato.⁴² A head of Bacchus or an effigy of Plato would be equally appropriate to Carneades, the Philosopher who was the brightest light of the Academy after the founder. Mehus, we believe, was treating the same theme as Ribera. The subject was rare; but Luca Giordano, who served the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or Salvatore Rosa, who, like Lieven, worked for the Marchese Gerini, were likely transporters of such novel matter. When Giordano himself painted *The Blind*

39. Rodrigo Caro, *Antigüedades de Sevilla*, Seville, 1634, fol. 8.

40. Caro translates the epigram thus:

Llamanme Baco Griegos,
Ossiris me nombra Egipto,
Aunque en Grecia soy Phanace
Soy en las Indias Dionisio:
Las ceremonias Romanas
Libero padre me han dicho:
En Arabia soy Adonis,
Pantheo en Lucania el mismo.

For the possibility that this Pantheus may be Pentheus, see G. W. Elderkin, "The Lenaion, Limnaion and Boukoleion at Athens," *Archaeological Papers*, v, 1943, p. 4, ". . . Iakchos of Athens, . . . the Pentheus of Thebes, the Zagreus of

Crete, and the Dionysos of the Lenaion are all variants of the god who was torn to pieces"; cf. G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, New York, 1929, I, p. 591, ". . . syncretism is the tendency of the time: Sarapis, the partner of Isis, is called *pantheus* . . . Zeus, Hades, Helios, Dionysos are one; the emperor Julian varies it: Zeus, Hades, Helios are one, and are Sarapis." On another painting with which Alcalá, Caro, and Ribera were concerned see D. F. Darby, "In the Train of a Vagrant Silenus," *Art in America*, xxxi, 1943, pp. 140-148.

41. Caro had dedicated to Alcalá his *Relacion de las inscripciones y antigüedades de la Villa de Utrera*, Osuna, 1622.

42. J. J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, Munich, 1901, II, pp. 21f. and fig. 2; cf. R. Paribeni, *Il ritratto nell'arte antica*, Milan, 1934, p. 9 and fig. XX (on the analogy of the Dionysos-Plato with the Silenos-Socrates).

Philosopher (Fig. 3), he declined to particularize the sculptured head. One may perhaps fancy a vague hint of the Scopasian or the Rhodian style.

The head, in whatever guise, establishes the identity of *The Blind Philosopher*. Without it, we could not easily eradicate the idea that all the painters were charged to make fantastic portraits of some blind sculptor whose rout of adversity had become legend. Gonnelli would be eliminated for the reason that no patron would accept an imagined likeness of him when a meeting of sitter and painter could readily be arranged. But, one may argue, there have been other blind sculptors, perhaps as many as one in every generation. In an effort to prove that the story of Gonnelli was credible, Ajraghi (p. 122) cited three who overcame the same disadvantage: Ronca, Kleinhanns, and Parodi; and we can add the name of our contemporary, Mark Shoesmith. Achievements such as theirs invariably seem prodigious to the sighted and are not belittled even by those who recognize that modeling is, in the main, a tactile art. As the Duke of Alcalá had certainly a curious interest in natural freaks and anomalies—an interest shared with Montaigne and the Greek Philosophers themselves—one might have guessed that the Blind Philosopher was a prodigy who, like *La Barbuda*, enjoyed ephemeral publicity in Naples.⁴³ This excusable error is now confuted by the evidence of the young deity of Praxiteles.

VI. THE HEAD OF CHRYSIPPUS

Assured as we are that the noble patron required a *Carneades*, we may yet wonder that he included this Wise Man who, in our view, is relatively unimportant. Every age, however, has its own predilection: we, who approach philosophy through the study of literature, value each Sage for his own particular contribution to Greek letters, and hence honor Plato above others, especially as he had the same concern with political and social problems as we have; but mediaeval thinkers named Aristotle the "Prince of Philosophers" because he had organized the vast accumulation of ancient science, which, without him, would have been inchoate; and Romans of the Empire chose either Chrysippus or Epicurus because they had bequeathed what was then most needed—the systems that conduced to a good life in a decaying world. The seventeenth century took to its heart the chief of the New Academy, who had taught his disciples to reexamine the old values, to look at both sides of every question, to keep the mind open to new discoveries.

Likewise the progress of the antiquarians' research indicated what sages were to be included and probably determined the order in which the portraits were executed. Priority, we suspect, was given to those Philosophers whose likenesses had survived and received plausible designation. Ribera was surely bound to follow the antiquarians both in their correct assumptions and in their mistaken conjectures. When he portrayed a certain wise man studying his face in a mirror, he painted one whom we recognize as Socrates. The early identification of that Philosopher was facilitated by the fact that he was an odd-looking person and that the humanists possessed a herm, fully inscribed, well preserved, and marked by the rare traits that were celebrated in literature.⁴⁴ But the researchers were less lucky with other men whose commonplace features had tended to lose what individuality they may have had in the hands of copyists, and whose recovered busts bore no mark or, worse yet, a false name. Plato, for example, was not known to the older antiquarians as we know him; Aristotle perplexed them; and Epicurus, who had not the traits expected of an epicure, eluded them altogether. Carneades, they knew, had been portrayed, for Cicero had spoken of an *imago nota*, and they themselves had discovered the fragment of a herm inscribed:

43. A. L. Mayer, *Jusepe de Ribera*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 76f.; cf. E. Tormo, "La barbosa," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XXIV, 1916, pp. 14ff. (with illustration).

44. R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, "Die Bildnisse des Sokrates,"

Abhandlungen der königlich-preussischen Akademie des Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe, Berlin, 1908, pp. 5, 17, 49f.

KAPNEA-
ΔΗΣ
ΦΙΛΟΚΩΜΟΤ
ΚΤΡΗΝΑΙΟΣ

Unfortunately, the head was missing, and there was no clue to its appearance. Nothing was known of Carneades' features, save that his hair was untrimmed; and this chit, gleaned from Diogenes Laertius, was hard to evaluate, for, if it was quoted from someone who had often seen Carneades in need of a haircut, it was circumstantial evidence; but, if it preserved the biographer's own impression of a portrait statue, then it would be highly significant to an iconographer who was not so much concerned with the appearance of the Philosopher as he was eager to identify a portrait. The damaged condition of the herm seemingly put the spur to curiosity, and a head with thick and tangled locks, which we now know to be that of Antisthenes, was ineptly joined to the broken bust. The misfit was immediately noticed by the conscientious Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600).⁴⁵ If search for the applicable head was resumed, it proved fruitless and was the more willingly abandoned, since two likely candidates for the title of Carneades presently appeared.

One of these belonged to the Farnese Collection as it was constituted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thereafter this marble vanished and, being unique, is now known only in a plaster reproduction (Fig. 4). An inscription, not strictly contemporary with the carving but indubitably ancient, supplies the name of Carneades; and a tendency to curb the Hellenistic propensity for realism, consistent with the evolution of Athenian art in the Philosopher's last years, has persuaded modern iconographers to accept the lost bust as his portrait. It is a refined and decorous work; but the "dryness of conception and execution," censured by Hekler,⁴⁶ must have seemed chilling properties to Ribera, who, above all others, could distinguish truth from gloss. *Lo Spagnoletto* would have preferred the second candidate (Fig. 5).

This man has a genuine though not exciting personality, recognized in several repetitions and possibly in certain variants, appearing not only in the Farnese Collection but in other places.⁴⁷ He is older than the rival candidate and has lost some teeth and much of his hair. With his head tilted back and his chin up, he gives the impression of one whose sense of hearing has been suddenly alerted. His eyes are especially interesting: the tear sacs are clearly marked; the eye-balls bulge; the pupils, when indicated, roll up under the lids. We now know, as our predecessors could not, that the sculptor of the statue in the Ceramicus, from which the various portrait busts presumably were derived, represented a man gazing aloft, cogitating, and gesticulating with outstretched hand. We observe that the prominent brows are contracted and the forehead marked by several horizontal wrinkles and two others, almost vertical, above the root of the nose. These are the furrows frequently seen in those who have sacrificed their vision to close reading.

The apparent symptoms of failing sight must have assured the old antiquarians that busts of this type preserved the best likeness of their Blind Philosopher. He had, they conjectured, been twice portrayed: once, when he had still vigor and sight, as in the unique work of the Farnese (cf. Fig. 4); and later, when he was, as Faber says,⁴⁸ "*decrepitus jam aetatis senescentis*." They held their opinion confirmed by the fact that some portraits of the second type were inscribed KAPNEAΔΗΣ; and so confident were they and so devoid of our aversion to putting ineradicable marks upon relics, that they even carved the Italian form of the name—Carneade—on one member of the group (Fig. 5). The best examples, those presumably closest to the original of the third century B.C., were executed with realism that would have commended them to Jusepe Ribera.

45. Orsini, *op.cit.*, pp. 6, 50; Bernoulli, *op.cit.*, II, p. 181.

46. A. Hekler, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer*, Stuttgart, 1912, English ed., New York, 1912, p. xxii.

47. Bernoulli, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 150; 154, notes 4 and 5; 155.

The bust in the British Museum is probably the best of the type. Cf. R. P. Hinks, *Greek and Roman Portrait-Sculpture*, British Museum, London, 1935, fig. 7b.

48. Faber, *op.cit.*, no. XLII.

The truth, obvious to us, that this original was so early and hence no portrait of Carneades (ca. 213-129 B.C.), was not appreciated in Ribera's time. The painter may have studied several variants, including some with higher brows and balder pates, now classified as marginal appendages to an unstable type,⁴⁹ and considered himself free to draw a composite picture. He did not strictly copy in any case; he was, after all, to create the illusion that a man was his model, not a statue; he had, in particular, to enhance the effect of blindness.

Ribera was fortunate in that he dealt somewhat freely with his material, for new evidence was soon to prove that this Philosopher was not Carneades. Some years after Jusepe's death, a coin of Soli in Cilicia, bearing two heads, one of them very like the misnamed bust, showed that the person represented must have been a native of that city. Throughout the nineteenth century, he was known as Aratus because the lifted eyes were thought appropriate to the poetic star-gazer; now his companion on the other face of the coin is identified as Aratus and he as an equally famous Cilician, the Stoic Chrysippus.

We can imagine nothing more ironical than the substitution of Chrysippus' features for those of Carneades. In many respects the Stoic was the opposite of the Academic. The former was the strictest of dogmatists and the most prolific of writers. The only hint that he became even purblind as a result of his enormous labor occurs in *The Sale of Creeds*. "He whetted his eyesight on closely written books," said Lucian, the satirist, who was also a rhetorician, a sculptor, and incidentally "the most trustworthy art-critic of antiquity." Lucian may have got from Chrysippus' portrait a suggestion that the keenness of his vision was subjected to abuse. But we have no reason to think that he reached the state in which spectacles, unavailable in his time, would have been unavailing.

His portrait in the Ceramicus at Athens was the target of one of Carneades' best jests. The statue revealed an undistinguished person, completely outclassed by an equestrian on a fine mount. "Crypsippus, the horse-hidden," quipped Carneades; and this morsel "not unseasoned by salt" was preserved for the delectation of Diogenes Laertius. Nevertheless, Carneades acknowledged that, by studying and refuting the arguments of the verbose Stoic, he had won his own fame. "Without Chrysippus," he would say, "where should I have been?" Without Chrysippus surely, Ribera would have drawn a different picture of Carneades.

VII. THE HEAD OF CARNEADES (A SEQUEL)

The Blind Philosopher of Luca Giordano (Fig. 3) is indeed different. Since the portrait that had been designated as Carneades had proved in his time to represent a Cilician and since Carneades was a Cyrenaic, the Neapolitan was obliged to use some other model. The features, as he paints them, are very distinctive. The eyes are deep set with a heavy fold of flesh above the wrinkled corners; the cheekbones are high and the jowls themselves lean and hollow; the nose is gibbous, the upper lip long and covered with a moustache, the chin cleft and partially bare. The square beard is too short to hide the slack fold under the chin and the tendons of the thin neck. A stray wisp of hair falls over the peak of the brow, and all the hair appears rough, shaggy, and untrimmed; one lock, like an abortive cue, thrusts out from the nape. These are the salient traits of the famous Hellenistic portrait which was known for three centuries (1570-1870) as *Seneca* (Figs. 6, 10, 11). So assured did the mistaken identification seem that artists charged to treat the favored theme of *The Death of Seneca* imposed these features upon the Roman. So, for example, did Sandrart in the painting which he made presumably for Philip IV of Spain about 1635.⁵⁰

49. Bernoulli, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 182-184.

50. H. Voss, *Die Malerei des Barock in Rom*, Berlin, 1924,

pp. 138, 476; also p. 138 (illustration of a painting of the theme by Honthorst).

Not many years thereafter the Duke of Alcalá, who had had no little part in rousing Spanish interest in the antique, died, grief-stricken and far from all that he cherished, in a snowbound charterhouse in Austria. Had he completed the design so pleasantly conceived in his palmy days in Naples and had he expanded his collection to include such Romans as Cicero, Lucretius, and Seneca—the temptation being hardly resistible—then, no doubt, we should have been the richer by Ribera's own reproduction of the great Hellenistic portrait. It would have been the model for his *Seneca*.

In the course of three hundred years, Winckelmann alone published his distrust of the misnomer.⁵¹ He offered no alternative but advised students of iconography to seek an "older, more famous, and more honored name," reminding them at the same time that Seneca should have worn no beard. Winckelmann probably did not know that in the seventeenth century Luca Giordano had already anticipated his valid objections. The Neapolitan had possibly private information and certainly rare audacity which caused him to depict Seneca shaven, as indeed he should be.⁵² For Luca then, the great Hellenistic portrait was not branded "Seneca" but free to receive some other designation. He could use it as the model for his *Carneades*; yet, lacking the sensitive genius of Ribera, he was able to convey neither the decrepitude nor the tragedy of the original. The profound, pathetic spirit of the ancient portrait was beyond his capacity to reproduce; but the physiognomical traits were copied with fidelity.

Giordano's choice of model may have been unreasoned. He was, however, constantly in converse with savants, and these had the pleasant custom of gathering to debate upon just such subjects as the identity of ancient portraits that lacked inscription. Some unpublished discourse, some lost letter, even some casual remark may have led the painter to make his unexpected choice. The fact—some may call it the illusion—that he made it, is, of course, not adduced as an argument in favor of the theory, here offered, that the Shaggy Man of the Greek portraitist was, in truth, Carneades. We freely admit that, while Luca might drop a fortuitous hint, he could not speak with authority. But, considering how desperate and misguided has been the search for the name of the subject, we shall not be contemptuous even of a hint.

We observe that Carneades, though a likely appellation, has never been borne by this man of many pseudonyms. Since 1870, when he ceased to be known as Seneca, he has assumed various names: L. Calpurnius Piso, Philetas of Cos, Callimachus of Cyrene, Archilochus, Hipponax, Philemon, Epicharmus, Eratosthenes, Lucretius, Aesop, Euripides, Hesiod, and Aristophanes.⁵³ But to the cautious student of iconography, he is still mysterious and unnamed.

More than half a century ago Bernoulli presented the criteria by which we must even now judge the fitness of all the suggested designations. We distinguish seven tests, reducing them to a list with added commentary:

1. The suitable name should be that of a Greek, as is attested by the style of the portrait.
2. It should be the name of a philosopher or scholar who lived in the third or the second century B.C. The importance of this test is minimized by those who prefer to stress slender evidence in favor of the name of a poet. It is circumvented by some who suppose that the Hellenistic sculptor made a fantastic or imagined portrait of a person long deceased.
3. It should belong to a man famous among Greeks and at the same time so admired by Romans that they perpetuated his portrait cult. This criterion cannot be lightly regarded in view of the usual presumption that the number of extant copies of any type is proportionate to the fame of the subject, and of the assurance that copies of this type, numbering at least forty, indicate a person no less beloved than Socrates, Plato, and

51. J. J. Winckelmann, *Werke*, Dresden, 1808-1820, VI, pp. 251ff.

52. See the painting plausibly attributed to Giordano, though forged "Josepe de Ribera espanol F. 1645," in the Ältere Pinakothek, Munich (fig. 167 in Miss Trapier's *Ribera*). There are similar paintings in Dresden and Naples.

53. Bernoulli, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 160-177, with bibliography on the "Pseudo-Seneca" on p. 160; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel, 1942, pp. 134-147, with additional bibliography on p. 212; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, p. 143.

Epicurus. Astute critics reject the suggestion that the busts represent a genre figure, admired for technical excellence, because a head of that sort would not be exhumed along with portraits of Philosophers or coupled, as in certain double herms, with another portrait.

4. It should be the name of one who reached advanced age, failed in health, became blind, as the best examples make apparent, and careless of his grooming. This test excludes the well barbered court poets. It has counted most heavily with Bernoulli, who, apologizing for the relative obscurity of Eratosthenes, nominated him because his sight had failed.

5. It should designate a person who might wear the poet's wreath or at least one whose biographers can account for this attribute, though it appears in only one of the numerous examples of the type. Bernoulli discounted this test for the reason that the unique occurrence may signify an aberration.

6. It should belong to a man who was somehow associated with Epicureans, for more than one copy lay buried with recognized members of this sect.

7. It should be the name of someone who had reason to be coupled with a certain beardless person, lately called Menander, in a double herm.

To many critics the tests may seem irreconcilable with one another. They are indeed so rigorous that none of the proposed candidates can pass on every count. Carneades, however, meets all seven challenges.

That he qualifies on the first four tests is undisputed. That he succeeds also on the last three requires explanation. Surely—some may say—the Philosopher has no right to the ivy wreath which is so appropriate to that other Cyrenaic, the poet Callimachus. But “there was another Carneades,” said Diogenes Laertius, “a frigid elegiac poet.” The biographer had recourse to the book of Demetrius of Magnesia, *On Homonyms*, a source of information that few could tap. This work was lost and with it the fruit of the good author's labor and an admonition of rather general application. Composite personalities, formed of two or more persons of the same name, were evidently no less a nuisance to old historians than to their modern successors. The likely confusion of the Wise Man and the elegist may well account for the unique aberration of one Roman sculptor.

The sixth test, which is concerned with the association with Epicureans, has been lightly regarded except by those who nominated Piso and Lucretius. What converse can the Men of the Garden have had with Carneades, whose temperament was the antithesis of their ideal? Epicurus designed his doctrine to the end that his followers might attain serenity, peace of mind. The Academic, who refused to concede that he knew anything, not even the predicate that he knew nothing, thus renounced the comfort of a secure creed and an abiding faith. Yet opposition to Stoic dogma frequently put him on the side of the Epicureans. The latter were wont to invite their adversaries of the Porch to match wits with them, and, as Juvenal remarked, placed the portraits of Stoics beside those of their own leaders for the sake of contrast.⁵⁴ They would have had a bust of Carneades too, for they knew that, though he had been trained in the Stoa, he became its most effective critic and, with his brilliant negative dialectic, succeeded in putting its adherents on the defensive. Bayle has remarked that, when Stoic and Epicurean exchanged thrusts, Carneades was the impartial umpire.⁵⁵ Therefore we should find nothing remarkable in the exhumation of a bronze bust of Carneades at Herculaneum with others surely identified as Epicurus, Metrodorus, and Hermarchus, and their chief antagonist the Stoic Zeno.

At about the same time other excavators discovered the sadly damaged marble herm of the Villa Albani (Fig. 7) in which the Shaggy Man is coupled with a young beardless personage who figures in the seventh test. Formerly the old person was identified with Seneca—wherefore the restorer thought fit to supply a Roman nose—and the young with the Stoic Poseidonius, who lived in the second century B.C., when Greeks as well as Romans were customarily shaven. Eventually both designations were discarded. Helbig, remembering that the Pseudo-Seneca of

54. Juvenal, *Satires* ii, 4.

55. Bayle, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

the Museo delle Terme (Fig. 10) wore an ivy wreath, was persuaded that the persons of the double herm were not Philosophers but Poets. When Studniczka proposed his hypothetical definition of the Menander-type, the younger man of the Villa Albani herm came to be regarded as a member of this category. Then, on the slender basis of two theories, rose another even weaker. It rested upon one solid fact: that Plutarch had coupled Menander (342-291 B.C.), the poet of the New Comedy, with Aristophanes (445-385 B.C.), the master of the Old.⁵⁶ But the hypothesis is menaced by the evidence that the persons of the Villa Albani portraits are different from those of the Bonn double herm,⁵⁷ which are perhaps more credibly identified as Aristophanes and Menander. The presumable Aristophanes of Bonn, though old and bearded, bears not the slightest resemblance to the Shaggy Man.

Nevertheless there are those who would convince us that this blind and decrepit Wise Man depicts Aristophanes of the ribald wit and the robust body. Not as he really was, they say, but as some great Hellenistic sculptor conceived the boisterous satirist!⁵⁸ In the Villa Albani pair there is nothing surely pertinent to the two comedians, not the appropriate spiritual characterization, not any material attribute, not even the fillet seen in the Bonn double herm or the aberrant ivy wreath of the portrait in Rome.

We do observe that the younger man evinces Roman ethnic traits; he calls to mind the shrewd, egotistic, handsome face of Cicero (Figs. 8, 9). He has the same vaulted head; the same brow, divided, as it were, in stories by horizontal lines; the same marked prominence of the forehead; the same eyes, rather small and very deep set; the long sensitive nostrils; the sardonic lines about the mobile mouth; the well-shaped chin; and finally the characteristic dressing of the hair, with the locks combed fairly smooth and swept to the front. Those late double herms which couple Greek and Roman are the plastic analogue of the *Parallel Lives*, though the sculptors' pairs are not specifically the same as Plutarch's. Surely there is no mating more appropriate than that of the two orator-philosophers, Carneades and his avowed disciple Cicero. We remark that another double herm,⁵⁹ addossing bearded Greek and beardless Roman, bears the inscribed names of Socrates and Seneca (the younger, 5 B.C.-A.D. 65)—a pair of teacher-philosophers who, when condemned to die and permitted to choose the mode, showed to mourning disciples how bravely a Wise Man dies.

This herm, discovered in 1813 and installed in Berlin, reveals a stout and shaven Seneca, utterly unlike the unkempt and emaciated person who had long before assumed his name. We think that, before the genuine Seneca was recognized and the Menander-type defined, someone may have anticipated the idea that the beardless man of the Villa Albani herm is Cicero, and that he may have reasoned that Seneca (the elder, ca. 61 B.C.-ca. A.D. 30), a rhetorician inspired by Cicero, would have been a suitable companion to him. The false but seductive notion would have sustained the identification of the Pseudo-Seneca and impeded the recognition of Carneades.

The erroneous name became attached to the portrait in the time of Fulvio Orsini. He had hazarded the title on evidence that Seneca was reputedly phthisic and probably lean; and the unfortunate guess must have gratified the half-Spanish Farnese and the Andalusian Perafán de Ribera, Viceroy of Naples (1566-1572). A century later it assuredly pleased Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, who acquired a Pseudo-Seneca for himself; in the meantime the error had precluded the possibility that *Lo Spagnoletto* choose the correct model for his *Blind Philosopher*. We remark that the misnomer prevailed throughout the period of Spanish domination over Italy;

56. M. Bieber, "Ikonographische Miszellen," *Mitteilungen des kaiserlichen archäologischen Instituts des deutschen Reichs, Römische Abteilung*, XXXII, 1917, pp. 122-129.

57. *ibid.*, figs. 7a and 7b.

58. Miss Bieber, however, had proposed, because the traces

of the old jest-loving spirit are lacking, that "we have here no pure fantasy-portrait, but that a real likeness from the last years of Aristophanes is the source."

59. Bernoulli, *op.cit.*, I, p. 189; R. Kekulé, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

and we suggest that it proved tenacious chiefly because men of the master race liked to think that one of them—the Cordovan Seneca—had held a high place among the great Philosophers. Their wish fathered a long-lived mistake, though *Seneca* was another of those titles that no one without bias could really like, and though Seneca could not survive the first of Bernoulli's seven tests.

Carneades has passed them all; still he must overcome two important objections. First, his place in the assembly of the Wise Men is already occupied by the shade of the lost Farnese bust. This incumbent may possibly be ousted since he does not make a substantial claim. He is known, however, from engravings published by Gallé, Faber, Bellori, and Visconti, the last testifying that he had once seen this *Carneades* in the Farnese Collection in Rome, but, after transfer of the property to Naples, had sought the work in vain, and was thus forced to rely upon a plaster cast made at the behest of Albaccini.⁶⁰ We ourselves have nothing but the cast preserved in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek at Copenhagen (Fig. 4). The fact that the original was unique is remarkable, for what Cicero called the *imago nota* of Carneades should have existed in many copies and a fair number of these should have survived.

Those who are still reluctant to unseat the plaster *Carneades* may take comfort in one of these alternative hypotheses. They may suppose that Carneades was twice portrayed: once by a classicist and again by a realist, the former conceiving him as he was when, still in his fifties, he lectured at Rome, the latter depicting the venerable man whose infirmity compelled retirement from the scholarchate. This he resigned in favor of a younger Carneades, Polemarchus' son, who, having filled the post one lustrum, died before the man whom he succeeded.⁶¹ As the Academy zealously cherished an iconography of its leaders, even the least famous of its scholars, the little known homonym, may have been once portrayed. His likeness would have been rarely repeated. But it is not impossible that the unique Farnese marble is a portrait of the lesser Carneades. Schefold has said that the Copenhagen cast pictures a decorous bourgeois, a teacher rather than a visionary; he and others discover a superficial resemblance to the Shaggy Man. The *gesso* may mask early restorations; but, unless these are extensive, the two portraits either describe different persons or present independent concepts of the same.

The second objection to the new candidate for the title of *Carneades* is concerned with the dating of the prototype from which the forty existing copies were derived. Assuming that Carneades (ca. 213-129 B.C.) was its subject, we can accept no date earlier than 140 B.C. Archaeologists expect works of this date, which falls within the Greco-Roman period, to manifest some trace of the classicism then revived to gratify the taste of the Roman conquerors. Precisely because the *gesso* is responsive to the new fashion,⁶² critics have approved it; and because the Shaggy Man reveals the perfection of the Hellenistic style, which had become outmoded in Athens years before Carneades died, modern scholars have failed to consider him as a likely candidate. The date 140-130 B.C. seems a little too late for the portrait.

Admittedly the reaction against Hellenistic exuberance should be apparent in any portrait then produced by an Athenian sculptor. But the great statue of Carneades erected in Athens, the likely source of the many copies, the seated statue of which all but the inscribed base is lost,⁶³ was probably not a Greco-Roman work. It was the gift of two kings, Attalus II of Pergamon (d. 138 B.C.) and Ariarathes V of Cappadocia (d. 130 B.C.), both of whom were patrons of arts and letters and students of philosophy. Attalus, like Carneades, had been an ambassador to Rome, and Ariarathes, whose cultural interests are exceptional among the members of a violent dynasty, maintained a

60. E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie grecque*, Milan, 1824, I, pp. 236ff.

61. H. von Arnim in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, X, col. 1984; G. Cologero in *Enciclopedia italiana*, IX, p. 95; F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, 17th edn., Berlin, 1926, pp. 141f. of Appendix; E. Zeller, *Die*

Philosophie der Griechen, 5th edn., Leipzig, 1923, III, i, p. 541 n. 1; p. 543 n. 2.

62. Cf. the bust dated ca. 400 B.C. illustrated by Hekler, *op.cit.*, fig. 13a.

63. *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*, II, 3, no. 1406.

correspondence with the Wise Man. In their realms Hellenism persisted untouched by the taste of Roman patrons.⁶⁴ The artistic current that was running strong and seemed by no means spent receded only from the western peninsulas; it was to reach great height on the shores of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. We may be sure that, with a splendid school flourishing in his own kingdom, Attalus did not assign the commission for Carneades' portrait to some Athenian who had submitted to the alien yoke.

The Uffizi marble (Fig. 6), which Amelung instinctively believed closest to the original, does indeed reveal those very traits that are characteristic of Pergamenian works: the sharply undercut locks of hair, the deep-set eyes, the square chin. There is, moreover, the Pergamenian interest in ethnological distinction, which here stresses an odd Dinaric type, and in realistic detail, such as that expended upon the strained tendons of the neck and the worried expression of the face.

This is the face that would have reflected the troubled soul of Carneades, the debater, agnostic, and solitary searcher who cared nothing for his person but all for the interminable quest. Rarely indeed has a countenance so perfectly fitted the personality. The authentic portrait of Plato, for example, does not fulfill our ideal of him. We remember now how belated was the recognition of Silanion's *Plato* and how disappointed were the iconographers, who had sought an image suiting their preconceived notion of a godlike man, when they found that the Philosopher had quite commonplace lineaments and mien. Plato had perhaps been unlucky in sitting to an objective portraitist, honest, no doubt, but scarcely equal to his enviable opportunity. We have all had the actual experience of meeting someone who does not look as we had expected. Nature does not always endow a great spirit with a distinguished presence. Great art, however, is seldom inspired by an unlikely subject. When we encounter a fine characterization of someone unknown, admire it as the product of creative genius, and seek to name the subject, we must require that his qualities match those of the man portrayed. That the Shaggy Man is a superb portrait is manifest in the various positive reactions of several who have studied him. Hekler finds him melancholy and, with his "peevish and self-tormenting discontent," even repellent and unsympathetic; Bernoulli, on the other hand, remarks irrelevantly, yet reverently, that he reminds him of "a modern scholar at whose feet the young students of Philology sat in the first half of the nineteenth century." Such diverse sentiments Carneades himself aroused in his own contemporaries.

But Bernoulli, after diligent searching, turned away from his effort to identify *The Blind Man* with the admission that he had failed. "Let us hope," he said wistfully, "that the solution of the problem will come about through a happy accident or lucky divination." Was it by chance or by sorcery that Giordano, the fortunate and facile, had already hit upon a truth to which much wiser men would still be blind? A mystic would say that the Philosophers themselves had the answer. They had predicted a *magnus annus* when they would be born again. There came in due time a Renaissance and, after it, a *magnum saeculum* when newly enlightened men shared their expanded world with the old Sages and the young gods, and even "great Pan" was not dead.

APPENDIX

Miss Trapier's interpretation of Ribera's *Blind Man* of the Prado is so different from mine and at the same time so ingenious that I devote to it this supplementary note.

The title that she proposes—*The Sense of Touch*—was inspired by a single brief quotation from an unpublished manuscript of Giulio Mancini (1558-1630), physician of Pope Urban VIII Barberini and

close friend of the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani. Mancini wrote, among other things, a treatise that exists in no fewer than nine widely differing manuscripts—two in Venice, three in Rome, others in Florence, Siena, Modena, and London. In the best manuscript (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, ms it. 5571) the *Trattato* is in two parts: (I) *Alcune considerazioni intorno a quello che hanno scritto alcuni*

64. G. H. Chase and C. R. Post, *A History of Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1925, p. 143.



4. *The Philosopher Carneades*. Plaster reproduction of the lost Farnese marble. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek
(From Heinrich von Brunn, *Griechische und römische Porträts*, Munich, 1891, no. 505)



5. *The Philosopher Chrysippus*. Naples, Museo Nazionale
(photo: Alinari)



6. *The Philosopher Carneades (?)*. Florence, Uffizi
(photo: Alinari)



7. Double Herm of *Carneades and Cicero* (?). Rome, Villa Albani
(photo: Alinari)



8. *Cicero*. Rome, Vatican (From Heinrich von Brunn, *Griechische und römische Porträts*, Munich, 1891, no. 258)



9. *Cicero*. London, Wellington Museum (Courtesy Wellington Museum)



10. *The Philosopher Carneades* (?). Rome, Museo Nazionale (photo: Anderson)



11. *The Philosopher Carneades* (?). Naples, Museo Nazionale (photo: Alinari)

pittori, bound first but comprising folios 92-177; (II) *Le Vite*,¹ bound after it though the folios are numbered 4-90. Also included is the *Viaggio per Roma* (folios 178-195), which Mr. Mahon regards as a supplement.² We have long awaited a critical edition of the Mancini texts; but till recently no part of them has been edited except the *Viaggio per Roma*, by Ludwig Schudt, Leipzig, 1923.

Why Miss Trapier cited the *Viaggio* edited by Schudt in the bibliography of her *Ribera* is not clear, for it is not the source of her quotation and, in fact, contains not a single reference to Ribera. Italians, it is true, rarely called him by his patronymic; but equally vain is the search for mention of *Lo Spagnoletto* or Giuseppe Spagnuolo. If Miss Trapier drew her quotation from any of the various manuscripts, she has failed to designate it; and she is heedless of Mahon's wise warning that the "presentation of the material from a [Mancini] manuscript selected by mere chance or convenience . . . can be positively misleading, for it may perpetuate the errors of a faulty transcription; once a fragment of text is published it is usually quoted again and again. . . ."

Apparently Miss Trapier knew Mancini's work only through quotations from it in certain articles by Orbaan and by Longhi. In his "Ultimi studi sul Caravaggio e la sua cerchia," *Proporzioni*, I (1943), p. 30, Longhi, who, in this instance, likewise fails to cite the particular manuscript, says: "Il Mancini racconta gustosamente della incredibile 'bohème' del Ribera nei suoi anni romani che sono prima del '15; ma che sarà delle 'cinque mezze figure per i cinque sensi molto belle' e del 'Cristo deposto et altro, che in vero sono cose di esquisitissima bellezza' dipinte dal Ribera in quel primo tempo?" The fact that in Italian usage quotations are both opened and closed by the mark that we use only to close them has led to confusion. Judging by the punctuation, I believe that the words which Miss Trapier translates "in his Roman years which were before 1615," and upon which she relies as upon a contemporary document, are not Mancini's but Longhi's. "Bohème," thanks to Puccini, means to modern Italians what we prefer to call "la vie de Bohème," is therefore not the title of a painting, and is, I suspect, not Mancini's word. Furthermore, I infer that Longhi wishes to convey the idea that he discredits the story, having found nothing that confirms Mancini's allusions, and that, lacking the temerity to solve the phy-

sician's riddles, he is quite ready to give his own tongue to the cats. If he is not so forthright as Mahon, who says, "Thoroughness and reliability cannot be counted among Mancini's virtues; his methods are slipshod and he often plays fast and loose with facts," at least Longhi had already warned us (p. 6), that Mancini was "solo dilettante" and observed that the doctor's words *molti Franzesi e Fiamminghi che vanno e vengono non li si può dar regola* betrayed the vagueness of his knowledge of Caravaggio's alien and migratory followers. This inexplicitness Longhi explains as the result of the fact that the Caravaggeschi did not customarily sign their works. He demonstrates also that about 1630 the Marchese Giustiniani classified Ribera among those whom he called "naturalists": Rubens, Baburen, Ter Brugghen, and Honthorst. Placing the name of Giuseppe Spagnuolo immediately after that of Rubens, Giustiniani left no doubt that he recognized Ribera's nationality, but at the same time he disclosed that he was little conscious of the criteria that distinguish the style, which we now believe so consummately Spanish, from the styles of those other foreigners.

More interesting and possibly more illuminating is the excerpt from Mancini cited by Orbaan in his "Documenti sul barocco in Roma," *R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, Miscellanea*, Rome, 1920. This author notes that in the *Vite* (Rome, Vat. Cod. Barberini, lat. 4315, c. 115B), Mancini says that *Lo Spagnoletto*, "having come to Rome, set himself to work 'a giornata' [at journeyman's wages] with those that conduct a shop and market pictures made by the labor of like young men." Orbaan here recalls Baglione's story of Signore Giovanni Battista Crescenzi who maintained in his palace on the Piazza della Rotonda an Academy where divers young men inclined to painting studied day and night. Crescenzi urged them to paint from nature whatever things of beauty and curiosity were found in Rome—fruits, animals, and *altre bizzarrie*—and counseled them to make drawings (by which he probably meant copies after their esteemed predecessors such as were always required in a conventional apprenticeship) only with a view to becoming themselves worthy and good masters.

The school was presumably a sort of "international house" frequented by various Flemings, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, as well as by the Italians who constitute Caravaggio's circle. In the apocryphal

1. J. Schlosser-Magnino, *La letteratura artistica*, Florence, 1935, p. 403 indicates that a biography of Ribera was included in *Le Vite*.

2. D. Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*, London, 1947, Appendix II, "Notes on the Manuscripts of Mancini's *Trattato*," pp. 279-331. See especially pp. 286ff. for a description of the Marcian Library's ms it. 5571; also pp. 280, 310, 327f. for pungent criticism of Mancini and those who carelessly and incautiously use his manuscripts. After this article had gone to press I received notice of Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, published for the first time by Adriana Marucchi with commentary by L. Salerno, 2 vols., Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1956-1957.

3. Unhappily I have recently observed an example of the very thing that Mahon warns against. Longhi, as indicated below, offers quotations without precisely citing the source (in another instance he had attributed a quotation to ms Vat. Barberini, lat. 4315 which Mahon divines was actually taken from ms Florence, Cod. Palat. 597); Miss Trapier copies Longhi without verifying the quotation; five years later a scholar, usually conscientious and discerning, comments on "the blind sculptor in the Prado" in the current bulletin of an American college art museum, saying, without any reference to Mancini, that what he [the sculptor] "represents is the sense of touch."

stories of Ribera's Roman years there are implications that he too availed himself of the opportunities offered by some school of this sort. In such an environment he may have treated the characteristically Flemish theme of *The Five Senses*. But it is also possible that Mancini, who has not proved himself an accurate historian, mistakenly attached the name of Ribera to the work of one of his Flemish fellows who, by their failure to sign, doomed themselves to relative obscurity. Ribera himself signed no work known to us before 1624, except etchings which he marked with his monogram; but his name, though distinctly foreign, was, unlike that of the other aliens, not to an Italian ear outlandish, but readily pronounceable and therefore memorable.⁴ This very quality would have made it susceptible to mistaken attribution of anonymous non-Italian works.

Before putting the least trust in Mancini, we should in any event read Longhi's quotations from him in their context and ascertain whether they proceed from the manuscript as it was originally written or from one of the numerous emendations and interpolations, whether too the quotations are to be found in only one manuscript or in several. There is perhaps little risk in assuming that Mancini meant to attribute the *Deposition of Christ* (which has been plausibly identified by Miss Trapier), and an untitled work to Ribera; but, in the case of the *Senses*, the attribution is less clearly attested.

If, however, we concede the possibility that Ribera painted this Flemish subject, we must also support other less probable theories before we can accept *The Blind Man* as *Touch* and *The Mirror-Gazer* as *Sight*. First, we must suppose that these as well as the hypothetical lost *Smell*, *Taste*, and *Hearing* had all prototypes made before 1620 and after that year were dispersed and never recognized or recorded; second, that Mancini's "cinque mezze figure" were separate and not included within one canvas, though he did not specifically say so, and were entitled according to the painter's intention rather than to the dilettante's fancy; and third, what is to me most difficult to believe, that such things, if they really existed and looked like *The Blind Man* and *The Mirror-Gazer*, would have been described by Mancini as "molto belle." Remembering how even the Spaniard Pacheco found the early products of Ribera wanting in beauty and suavity, we wonder how Mancini, whose stricter sense of *bellezza* is evident in the *Viaggio per Roma*, could have praised these particular paintings in the terms he seemingly used, unless, of course, he was resorting to sarcasm. The aggregate of conditions virtually destroys the theory.

Whatever the consensus on Mancini, I assert that

4. Concerning the baptismal name of Ribera, we note that he himself never used the Castilian "José" but invariably the Aragonese-Valencian form "Jusepe" in which the "J" is not pronounced like the Castilian *jota*. Indeed "Jusepe" closely approximates the Italian "Giuseppe."

In evaluating Mancini's probable idea of Ribera, we should remember that it must have been very different from our idea for the reason that Mancini, dying in 1630, can have known nothing of the copious output of Ribera in the years 1631-

there is nothing illegitimate in Miss Trapier's speculating on the meaning of the two paintings provided that the field of speculation is plainly posted with a *caveat* and the new titles marked with an interrogation point.

We recognize that Ribera, like most artists of his time, had a stock of types upon which he could and did draw when he was not concerned with specific individualities. But those whom Miss Trapier calls *Touch* and *Sight* are manifestly personages and not personifications. Thus they have always heretofore been called by the names of persons, whether contemporary with Ribera or long dead. This fact is significant even though *Gambazo* applied to the one and *Caravaggio* and *Sculapio* sometimes bestowed upon the other are demonstrably incorrect designations. In this connection, it is well to remember that a copy of *The Mirror-Gazer*, once in the Marotó Collection, was long ago recognized correctly as *Socrates*.

On the premise that personal attributes depicted by artists should almost never be explained as the result of caprice, I ask: What pertinence have rags and tatters, moth-holes and patches to the Senses of *Touch* and *Sight*? These things have meaning, and Ribera certainly did not introduce them merely because he thought them picturesque. Under his influence, others might paint rags for rags' sake; but surely he intended that they distinguish their wearers as members of his *Philosopher Series*. That their attributes—the sculptured head and the mirror—happen also to belong to two of the Senses of the Flemings is a coincidence not uninfluenced by the fact that the Five Wits were the object of the Wise Men's speculation and research. The revival of interest in the men was accompanied by a renewed devotion to their studies, the phenomenon occurring simultaneously in the North, where the emphasis fell upon their science, and in the South, where the stronger humanistic tradition stressed the individuality of the men.

The list of attributes suitable for visual presentation, though long, is far more limited than the range of subjects depicted by painters and sculptors. Let us imagine the artist as an impresario who, with few things in his property-room but many characters to provide for, is obliged to use the same objects again and again. Thus the hard-working dragon accompanies Hercules and Pride, St. George and St. Margaret; a balance is put into the hand of Justice, St. Michael as Psychopompus, and the Usurer; Venus, Prudence, Vanity, the Magdalen, and, by reason of literary illusion, Socrates all appear upon the scene with a mirror.

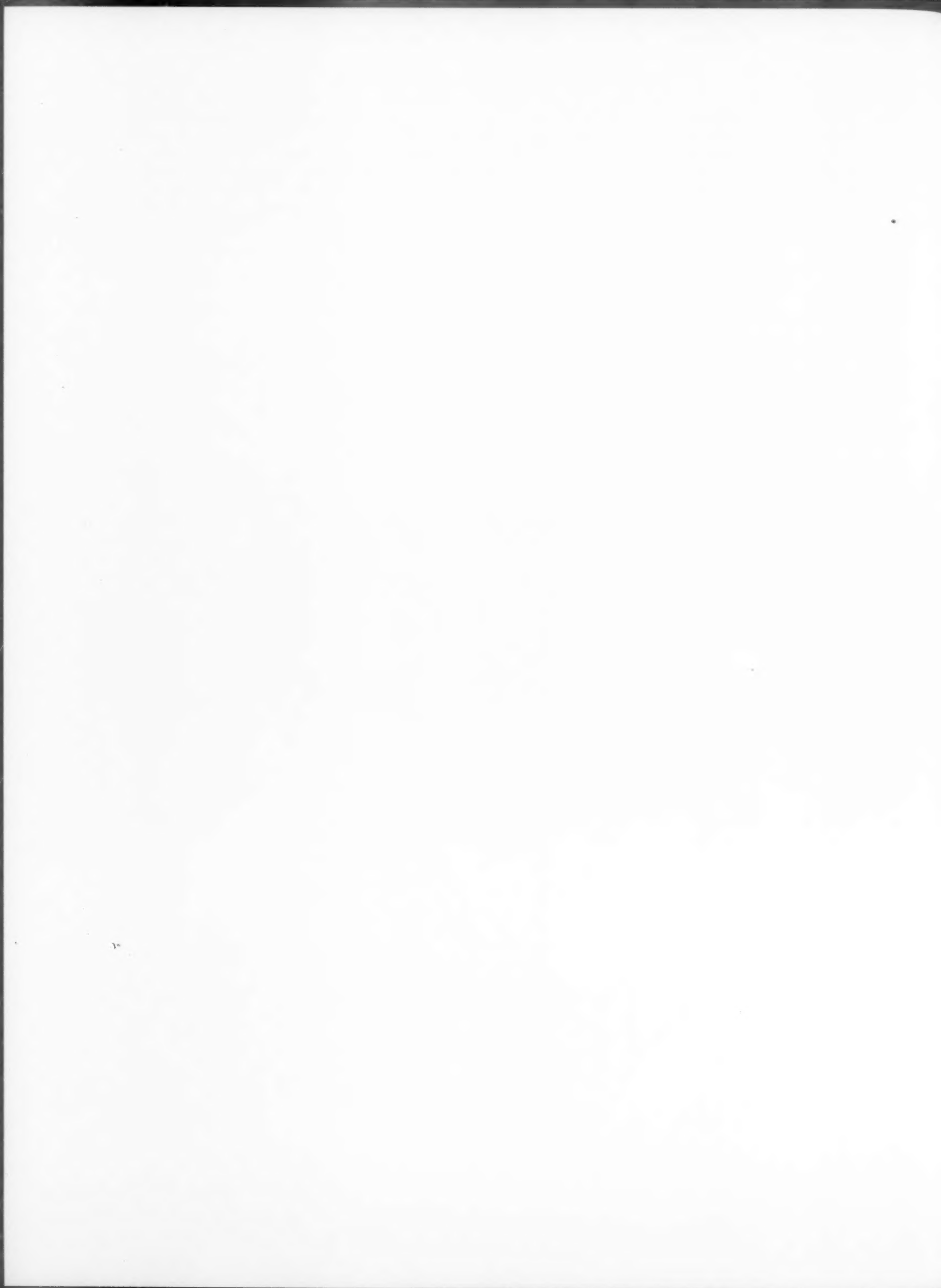
1652. We, on the other hand, base our opinion largely on the products of the painter's last two decades, knowing only a few authentic works of the years 1624-1630 and a single painting dated on circumstantial evidence before 1620. There are a few unsigned paintings that, if genuine, must be early; but no one is willing to venture even a guess as to what was produced in Rome and in Valencia. The information gleaned by Mancini, whose latest revisions seem to be of 1627, ends about where our knowledge, except of the etchings, begins.

But books surmounted by the tête-de-mort, which occur in Couché's engraving of the lost *Mirror-Gazer* of the Palais Royal (See Miss Trapier's fig. 156) are, in Christian usage, proper only to certain hermit and monastic saints. They must therefore be an addition of the copyist. Surely they are inappropriate to Socrates; but what, one who follows Miss Trapier should ask, can they have to do with The Sense of Sight?

5. There is evidence that it is no longer intact.

HYATTSVILLE, MD.

The Blind Man and *The Mirror-Gazer* of Villandry and their companions in that rather recently assembled collection,⁵ none of them strictly attributable to Ribera, constitute nevertheless a fairly homogeneous set of Giordanesque inspiration. They number more than five and are, by their tokens, not *Senses* but *Wise Men*.





1. Princeton, Scene 1



2. Bonn, Scene 1



3. Breda, Scene 1



4. Princeton, Scene 2



5. Bonn, Scene 2



6. Breda, Scene 2

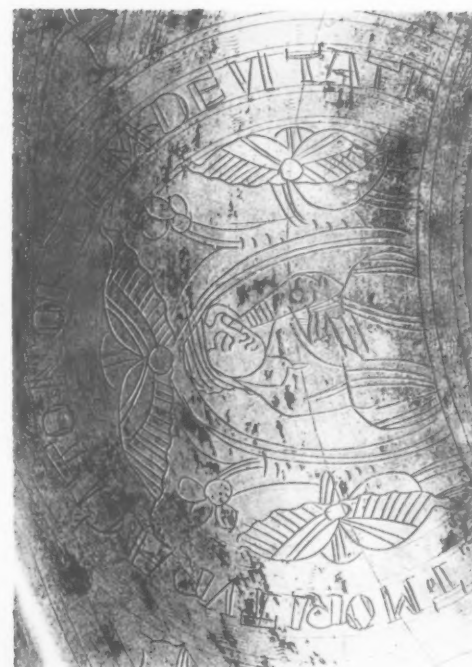
1-6. A Comparison of Pyramus and Thisbe Bowls



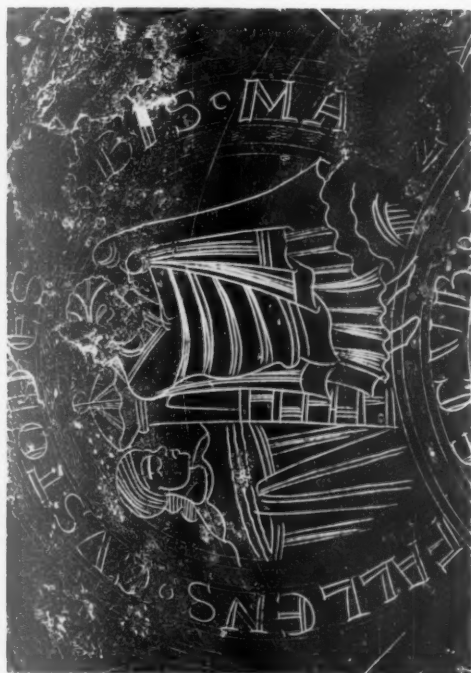
7. Princeton, Scene 3



10. Princeton, Scene 4



13. Princeton, Scene 5



8. Bonn, Scene 3



11. Bonn, Scene 4



14. Bonn, Scene 5



9. Breda, Scene 3



12. Breda, Scene 4



15. Breda, Scene 5

NOTES

A PYRAMUS AND THISBE BOWL IN THE PRINCETON MUSEUM

JOSEFA WEITZMANN-FIEDLER

The Princeton Museum acquired some years ago an engraved bronze bowl with a series of scenes based on the Pyramus and Thisbe legend from the *Metamorphosis* by Ovid (iv.55ff.). This subject, popular throughout the Middle Ages, was depicted in various media, but nowhere at such length as in a group of bronze bowls that belong to the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and probably originated in the northwest of Europe. Six Thisbe bowls are now known, of which the Princeton bowl is the only example in this country.¹ The story, which is engraved on the inside of the bowls, starts out in the central medallion, continues above it, running clockwise in four three-quarter medallions. Only one other bowl contains the same set of five medallions, while a fuller set with seven occurs in four other bowls. These latter doubtless represent the original cycle of which the Princeton bowl, and another in the Museum of Bonn, are only abbreviations, having dropped two scenes that occur in the fuller set. They all show certain variations in the ornamental filling of the spandrels but have in common the framing of the medallions by inscriptions in leonine hexameter that describe the content of the scenes.

To determine the degree of agreement or deviation among these bowls, as well as the place which the Princeton bowl occupies in this group, it suffices to choose for comparison two: the abbreviated bowl from Bonn and, of the more complete bowls, the one from Breda.² A detailed comparison is required to show how similar in style and iconography are the various copies of the Thisbe bowls, without ever being absolutely identical.

In the central medallion of the Princeton bowl (Fig. 1) Pyramus and Thisbe are seen on either side of a wall that separates two vaulted rooms, the roof of which terminates in a pine cone. They are facing each other with hands lifted in gestures of speech; their eyes seem closed, as is also the case in the subsequent scenes of this bowl; the hair of Pyramus is drawn in parallel lines as is the veil of Thisbe. Both are seated with crossed legs, Pyramus on a marble bench, Thisbe on an invisible support, thus in a pose between running and sitting.

The scene as a whole is very much alike in all three bowls, which differ, however, in some details. Where the Princeton bowl shows Pyramus and Thisbe in profile, those at Bonn (Fig. 2) and Breda (Fig. 3) depict Thisbe in profile, but Pyramus in a three-quarter view. Yet in other features the Princeton bowl re-

sembles the Bonn rather than the Breda bowl: in the former two Pyramus has the left leg behind, in the latter in front of the right leg. Moreover, in the first two cases the clasp of the chlamys is upon the breast instead of the shoulder, and Thisbe shows the back of the left hand instead of the palm. Still a different grouping must be made on the basis of the inscription.

The inscription around the central medallion reads: + INVIDE • CVR • PARIES • IVVENES • DISIVNGIS • AMANTES • Here the Princeton and the Breda bowls are alike in having the full verse, whereas the Bonn inscription stops after DISIV, omitting the last four syllables. The inconsistency of these relationships reveals already in this first instance that none of the three bowls is a direct copy of either of the other two.

In the next scene, above the central medallion (Fig. 4), Thisbe is represented leaving the palace, a typical Romanesque grouping of a tower with other buildings attached to it. She is dressed in a long mantle with a veil over her head, and, as in the first scene, she is gesticulating with both hands. Small deviations in the representations of this scene exclude again the possibility of one bowl being the model for the other two. On the bowls in Princeton and Bonn (Fig. 5), Thisbe's face is given in profile, while the Breda bowl (Fig. 6) has a three-quarter view. On the other hand, the Princeton bowl has Thisbe pointing with two fingers, while in the Bonn and Breda bowls, as is more usual, only one is raised. In another respect, however, it is the Princeton bowl that is in agreement with that of Breda. There is in the right corner a small pond with a few reeds along its shore, anticipating the spring which is mentioned only later in the story. The fact that some other bowls do not show the pond in this scene means that the three bowls under consideration have a common error. In the Bonn bowl this pond, being misunderstood, is drawn in vertical lines, creating the impression of a fluted column, the like of which is found on the Breda bowl as an ornamental filling in the spandrel.

The correct inscription of the Breda bowl:

+ TISBES • MAIOREM • PRIOR • EXIT • PROPTER •
AMOREM •

is again most closely followed on the Princeton bowl, though the latter shows some errors, which increase in number in the Bonn bowl, on which corruptions also enter.

In the next scene (Fig. 7) Thisbe is leaving Babylon and trying to hide her face with raised and veiled hands in order not to be seen by the city guardian, who watches from behind the crenelation of the city gate alongside a tower. Here again, deviating details exclude the possibility of one medallion being derived

1. A study in the *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* (x, 1956, pp. 109f.) deals more comprehensively with this subject, including the inscriptions.

2. I want to thank Dr. Franz Rademacher for having brought the Breda bowl to my attention and Professor R.

Hamann MacLean for having taken the photographs of this bowl for me. To Dr. Rademacher I am also much obliged for the photos of the bowl in his museum at Bonn. A picture of the bowl as a whole is reproduced in the *Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, 1932, p. 182.

from the other; for instance, on the Princeton and Breda bowls (Fig. 9) Thisbe is seen in profile and the guardian in three-quarter view, while in the Bonn bowl (Fig. 8) Thisbe is in three-quarter view and the guardian in profile. The bowls of Princeton and Breda have also in common the design of the spring and the reeds growing at its shore, whereas in the Bonn bowl Thisbe's mantle occupies all the space where the reeds should be.

The inscription is nearly alike in all three:

FALLENS • CVSTODES • VRBIS • MAGNE • VIGILANTES •
In the Princeton bowl the last syllable only is lacking, but in the Bonn bowl the last four are missing.

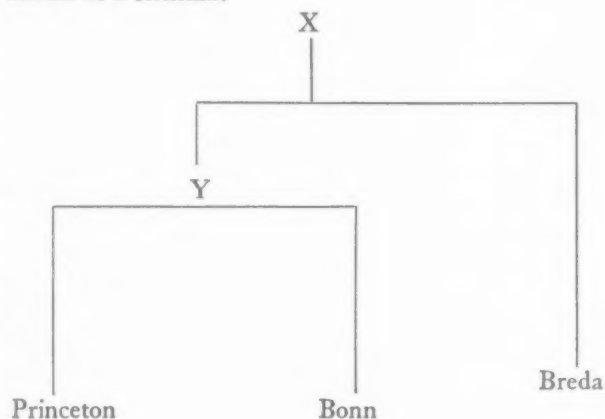
In the following scene (Fig. 10) Thisbe has reached the place near the spring where she and Pyramus had agreed to meet. In all three bowls Thisbe sits on a stone bench, resembling a sarcophagus, with her head inclined and resting on her left hand, to suggest sorrow, while the right hand is lifted in a gesture of speech. Her face is in a three-quarter view and only the Breda bowl (Fig. 12) shows a variation in that Thisbe is represented completely frontal and more hieratically, while the Bonn (Fig. 11) and Princeton bowls show a more casual pose with the legs crossed. Also the general setting is quite similar, consisting of a central mushroom-shaped tree and palm trees at either side. Yet a more important element is the berry which hangs from the tree in the Breda and Bonn bowls—so important in Ovid's story—and missing in the Princeton bowl, which also omits the tree trunk, so that the crown of the tree looks almost like a tumulus. If, on the basis of this corruption, the Princeton bowl is assumed to have been derived from the Bonn, this would immediately be contradicted again by the fact that it has a fuller rendering than the Bonn bowl of the inscription, which is complete in the Breda bowl: EXPECTAT • PIRAMV̄ • RESIDENDO • SVB • ARBORE • TARV̄. In the Bonn bowl the inscription stops with the word RESIDEND, and in the Princeton bowl continues through AR.

But even though the Princeton and Bonn bowls are in most aspects more closely related to each other than to the Breda bowl, in the last scene this relationship becomes basically upset. It is Thisbe's hiding scene (Fig. 13), where in all three bowls she is represented sitting frontally in a cave formed by two trees which are bound together and topped by a palmette. The Princeton and Breda bowls (Fig. 15) show Thisbe in the same attitude of sorrow which she displayed in the preceding scene, and in both cases she sits in the somewhat hieratic frontal position which in the preceding scene she assumed only in the Breda bowl. The Bonn bowl (Fig. 14) shows an altogether different type of Thisbe, who, though likewise seated frontally, makes gestures which give a different meaning to the scene. Instead of leaning on her left hand in an attitude of sorrow, she raises it in a gesture of speech and turns her lifted head in the direction in which the hand points. In the other hand she holds an object which, whatever it is, finds no explanation in the story. At first glance one might consider the possibility of

a variant by the very copyist who tries to re-interpret this scene. But in conflict with such an interpretation is the fact that also the style of the figure is remarkably different from the others, insofar as the folds are drawn in parallel curving lines, in contrast to the straight and bundled folds in all the other figures. The only solution, therefore, seems to be that the artist introduced from another model a different type, which then may not have been another Thisbe at all.

The inscription as always is most complete in the Breda bowl: ET • MORITVRA • CITO • MORTEM • DEVITAT • IN • ANTRO • Once more the Princeton bowl lacks the last word, and the Bonn inscription is again shorter and still more corrupt.

In summing up these observations, the first thing one notices is a family relationship so close that a common model is self-evident. On the other hand, no copy is a mechanically produced repetition of the other, but all show within limits divergences which in only a single case (the last Thisbe-type of the Bonn bowl) go so far that an outside influence must be assumed. The final conclusions can best be demonstrated by means of a stemma:



This stemma first of all makes clear the close relation that exists between the Princeton and the Bonn bowls, both having the five-scene set. The first question to be answered is whether the one bowl could be a direct copy of the other. But the Princeton bowl cannot be derived from the Bonn bowl, because it has in each instance the fuller inscription, and furthermore, the original hiding scene, where the Bonn bowl has the substitute. Could the Bonn bowl have been copied from the Princeton bowl? This also is impossible because some of the variants (as for instance the pointing with one finger in Fig. 5 and the iconographically important berry in Fig. 11) cannot be interpreted as individual alterations but only as a sign of more faithful copying, since these same features occur also in the Breda bowl (Figs. 6, 12). These details make the assumption of the Y in the stemma necessary, the intermediary link that probably was the first bowl in which the seven scenes were reduced to five.

The next question is whether Y could be derived directly from Breda or whether we have to assume a common model for both. This question is harder to answer, yet details seem to exclude the first alterna-

tive and favor the second, thus making necessary the introduction of X into the stemma. There is, for instance, on top of the roof in the central medallion of the Princeton and Bonn bowls (Figs. 1 and 2), a pine cone which is lacking in the Breda bowl (Fig. 3). It is not likely that the Princeton and Bonn bowls independently introduced it or that Y had invented it, but it is more probable that such a detail was already in the first Thisbe bowl and got lost in the copy in Breda.

The Thisbe bowls are the only ones among the engraved Romanesque bronze bowls with mythological subjects which, on account of their relatively great number, permit such detailed comparison and thus give an interesting insight into the workshop of the craftsmen who produced such bowls. What they contribute to the knowledge of classical subject matter in Romanesque art and of the peculiar way in which Ovid was understood at that time is a problem discussed elsewhere.³

PRINCETON, N.J.

STAINED GLASS AND IMITATION GEMS

JAMES R. JOHNSON

There are indications that the art of stained glass and the much older art of imitating precious stones have common techniques. Since mediaeval times a superficial relationship between the two arts has been acknowledged, arising in part from the use of a common vocabulary—it having been the custom of mediaeval and modern glassworkers to describe various colors of glass according to the jewels they most closely resembled—and again by frequent poetic allusions to the “jewel-like” quality of old glass which have appeared, not without justification, in the accounts of scholars and laymen. On the basis of more specialized and technical information from the field of gemmology, however, it may be possible to inquire into this relationship with greater thoroughness, for numerous analyses of imitation gems by experts have suggested a more than superficial connection between these arts.

In general, the two are united in their search for brilliance and beauty of color, and in their preference for translucent rather than transparent media. The desire in stained glass to increase the vibrancy and richness of windows is curiously paralleled by the effort in jewelry to simulate the high dispersive powers of

precious stones. During the Middle Ages these objectives were subtly fused.

Recalling the stained glass of the early Gothic period, we are reminded of its deeply translucent character and its vibrant color, brought about by the coating and weathering of exterior surfaces and by a deliberate complication of the interior structure of the glass. Irregularities of thickness and coloration, bubbles, striations, small particles and other “imperfections” contribute to the density and richness of the material.¹ Especially in the reds, or rubies, is this complication demonstrated by a wide range of flashed and lined types characterized by alternate layers of red and colorless glass within the same piece, fused in the molten state. Older examples from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are further enriched by microscopic laminations of great complexity within the colored areas, distinguishing these earlier reds from their later counterparts which are generally recognized by a single, homogeneous lining or film of color on their surfaces.² The latter types were prevalent from the fourteenth century onward.

Microscopic studies by Jean Escard of artificial rubies invite comparison with similar features in ruby glass of early Gothic windows.³ In plate xxiii, fig. 4, of his book, Escard reveals minute striation patterns and bubbles within the body of the artificial gem which resemble the linear configurations in early types of flashed ruby found at Chartres and Amiens. The striae, as in stained glass examples, vary considerably within the piece, tapering and fusing in a fluid pattern (in contrast to the crystalline structure of genuine stones), with a scattering of bubbles, often elliptical in shape, distributed throughout the mass. Escard does not discuss the provenience of these artificial rubies, but they undoubtedly belong to one of the nineteenth century types created by synthetic processes developed by Gaudin, Verneuil, and others in which small particles of genuine rubies were reduced to powder and fused with chemicals at high temperatures to produce a stone similar to the genuine ruby in all its natural properties save for the striations and bubbles revealed under the microscope.⁴ This nineteenth century process is a more refined and scientific development of an older art which from ancient times has been practiced chiefly in glass.

Among the many techniques used to simulate precious stones is the popular device known to jewelers as the “doublet,” a composite form lending itself to a variety of combinations and materials.⁵ Basically, the doublet is a cut stone consisting of an upper and a

3. *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, xi, 1957, pp. 1ff.

1. It is erroneous to assume that clear, transparent glass could not be produced. An examination of existing specimens in museums from the Roman period onward will refute this idea. Authors as early as Pliny record that “the highest value is set upon glass that is entirely colorless and transparent, as nearly as possible resembling crystal . . .” *Natural History* xxxvi. 67. Similar ideas are repeated in numerous mediaeval texts.

2. These differences are illustrated in my Note, *ART BULLETIN*, xxxviii, 1956, pp. 185-186.

3. Jean Escard, *Les pierres précieuses*, Paris, 1914. See also Hermann Michel, *Nachahmungen und Verfälschungen der Edelsteine und Perlen und ihre Erkennung*, Graz, 1926, fig. 17, p. 37; fig. 73, p. 120.

4. Escard, pp. 312-323; 445-459. Jewelers distinguish between “artificial” gems, which approximate the natural properties of real stones, and “imitation” gems, which are of a lower order, made from lesser materials. See the article on Artificial Gems in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., xi, pp. 569-572.

5. Max Bauer, *Edelsteinkunde*, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 822-824.

lower portion cemented together to give the appearance of a single stone. When the two portions are of genuine stones, it is known as a "genuine doublet," but other combinations are possible, such as the "semigenuine doublet," with one portion of genuine and the other portion of lesser material, either semiprecious stone or glass. Of a lower order is the "false doublet," made of one layer of colored and the other of colorless material, with glass frequently used in one or both portions; the "hollow doublet," of hollowed-out crystal filled with colored glass, is another variety. These last categories are of greater interest to us, for they recall the structure of lined and flashed stained glass, that of the ruby in particular.

It is undoubtedly a variation of the doublet which is described by the seventeenth century gemmologist, Thomas Nicols, in a passage on "the Adulteration of the Carbuncle or Ruby . . . by glewing two fair *Crystals* together with a little mastick tintured with a red or crimson colour."⁶ In another section, Nicols indicates that the *doublée* was fashioned by fusing two vitreous layers in the molten state: "As for other gemms which are dissembled with tintured glasse, these for the most part seem to have a *pellicula* or little film in their superficies, as if they were anointed with oyl, which is never to be found in true gemms. There are factitious gemms made of Crystall, and of flints, and lead, which will be harder than the common glasse, and transparent as Crystal; in the making of which, to tincture them, cunning artists are wont to adde metalls to it, or tinctures, or colours of metalls, and thus they being committed to the fire, by the operation of the heat upon them, will be produced a gemme scarcely to be discerned from the true gemme, save only by the atomes in the middle of their bodie, and by those small *bullae* which are often caused in them by the unequall working of the fire upon their matter, or by the extreme vehemencie of its heat."⁷ It is apparent that the process described by Nicols involves firing and coloring with metallic oxides, and also includes mention of the "pellicula," the "atomes," and the "bullae," corresponding, respectively, to the colored vitreous lining, the small foreign particles, and the bubbles found in older examples of stained glass. Similar observations are found in one of the earliest printed books on the art of glassmaking, *L'arte vetraria* by Antonio Neri, published in Florence in 1612.⁸ This work is concerned almost entirely with the preparation of metallic oxides and paste in imitation of precious stones.

Turning for a moment to the criteria employed in distinguishing true from false gems, it is interesting to

note that apart from the use of scientific instruments, the ancients observed quite the same standards in use today. A modern authority lists the following: refractive index, specific gravity, hardness, and thermal conductivity—genuine stones being colder to the touch. Moreover, imitation gems are opaque to X-rays, and under the microscope "generally show spherical bubbles and curved striae."⁹ The Elder Pliny, without any apparatus, arrives at similar conclusions: a true gem is told by its color, weight, "coolness in the mouth," and hardness, for it cannot be scratched "by an iron," an observation consistent with the Mohs scale in use today. Pliny further asserts that imitations can be found out by "blisters in the body of the fictitious stone . . . filaments . . . and an unequal brilliancy" (*Natural History* xxxvii. 76). In Book xxxvi. 67, he describes the use of glass in the making of many types of imitation gems. Special mention is made of rubies in another passage: "They are counterfeited, too, with great exactness in glass . . . and they present small blisters within . . ." (xxxvii. 26).

In the patristic and alchemic literature of the Middle Ages, from the early *Mappae Clavicula* and *Compositiones ad tingenda*¹⁰ to the artists' "handbooks" of Theophilus and Heraclius, considerable attention is given to the fabrication of gems from glass, reflecting the importance of this art in connection with the arts of the jeweler and the goldsmith for the creation of a wide variety of objects for sacred and secular purposes. Echoes of Pliny occur frequently, interspersed with extracts from the folklore, wizardry, and chemistry of the Middle Ages.¹¹

Theophilus is the best known among mediaeval writers on glass, devoting many sections of his famous *De diversis artibus*¹² to the preparation of vitreous materials and colorants for glass vessels, enamels, colored windows, and imitation gems. This work reveals a complicated interrelationship between these arts, for it is often difficult to distinguish between procedures for one or for the other. As an example, in Book II, 12, "Of Divers Colours of Glass, not Transparent," he suggests re-use of ancient glass mosaics and vessels for "coloured gems . . . costly plates of sapphire . . . and windows." When Theophilus speaks "Of Placing Gems upon Painted Glass," he is referring, of course, to *imitation* emeralds, hyacinths, sapphires and other jewels "in figures upon windows, in crosses or books, or in ornament of draperies . . ." (Book II, 28). All through this work it is apparent that methods, as well as nomenclature and uses, are frequently interchangeable.

6. Thomas Nicols, *Arcula Gemmea, Or a Cabinet of Jewels*, London, 1653, p. 55. A century earlier, Benvenuto Cellini had made similar observations (*Due Trattati*, Florence, 1568, n.p.).

7. Nicols, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

8. This work was later enlarged by Christopher Merret and Johann Kunckel, becoming a standard international reference on glass technology and enjoying many editions. I have used the French edition, *Art de la verrerie*, Paris, 1752. See esp. Book IV, pp. 167-170; Book V, pp. 173ff.

9. Noel Heaton, "The Production and Identification of

Artificial Precious Stones," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1911, pp. 217-234.

10. M. P. E. Berthelot, *Histoire des sciences. La chimie au moyen âge*, Paris, 1893, I, pp. 5ff.

11. Other traces of antiquity are found in the frequent appearance of antique engraved gems and cameos on mediaeval objects. See W. S. Heckscher, "Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Mediaeval Settings," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, no. 3, 1937, pp. 204-220. Dr. Hanns Swarzenski has kindly brought this important article to my attention.

12. Tr. Robert Hendrie, London, 1847.

Mediaeval gems, both genuine and false, were usually fashioned *en cabochon*. A cabochon stone is smooth surfaced, rounded or oblong, without the brilliant cutting of modern gems. The faceting of precious stones, especially the diamond, was first developed with scientific thoroughness during the Renaissance, when the plotting of tables and facets was characteristically determined by an orderly geometric schema which produced brilliant and glittering effects of directed light in contrast to the more subdued and indefinite luminosity of a natural stone. In place of bright stabs of prismatic color flashing from multi-faceted surfaces, the light of a cabochon jewel appears to abide within the body of the gem, hovering vaguely, elusively, suspended mysteriously in a shifting atmosphere of light and color. During the contemplation of such a medium, one is not conscious of external sources of illumination which activate the body of the jewel; rather it seems that the light is glowing from within, a belief not uncommon in the Middle Ages.

A method for the preparation of a glass cabochon is described in the writings of the mediaeval craftsman, Heraclius, in *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum*.¹³ Heraclius, like Theophilus, is frequently occupied with the creation of imitation gems. In Book I, 14, *De gemmis quas de Romano vitro facere quaeris*, Heraclius gives instructions for the making of "beautiful shining stones out of Roman glass," directing that small pieces of glass be placed in a mold which is "hollowed according to the form of the stone," then the mass is heated and stirred, after which it is fired in an oven. An interesting refinement occurs in this section: during the firing process Heraclius advises the craftsman to press on the glass "with a broad, even iron in order to avoid a bubble, or any other flaw." In another passage, different methods for working glass are described: "From the mass it is again melted and formed into a molten state, one by blowing, and another by turning with a turning iron, a third engraved like silver. One also colors it in different manners so that it imitates hyacinths, and green sapphire, onyx, and gems of other colors" (Book III, 5). Here, in apparent context with the preparation of glass gems, are the familiar techniques of cylinder and crown so closely associated with stained glass.¹⁴ Throughout this work, such an association is suggested many times in passages intermingled with directions for a great variety of operations, including the engraving and polishing of precious and imitation stones, the preparation of gold, the simulation of gold and silver, and many other processes in which real and imitation, precious and nonprecious, are treated concurrently, united by the mediaeval preoccupation with the transmutation of metals and above all

by an absorbing interest in a wide range of light-bearing objects which glow and radiate with an uncommon power. The role played by these luminous materials in the Neoplatonic light metaphysics of the Middle Ages is well known.¹⁵

Students of mediaeval art are aware that most of the gems on reliquaries, book-covers and other objects in museums and cathedral treasuries are either semi-precious stones or glass, and that these lesser materials were not necessarily substituted at a later date—although this did occur—but in as many instances belonged to the piece in its original state. Apparently, in the majority of cases, no deception was intended; we hear, however, of notable exceptions like the Sapphire of Queen Theodolinda in the Cathedral Treasury of Monza, or "Charlemagne's Emerald" at Reichenau, both believed to be genuine until nineteenth century research proved them to be glass.¹⁶ On occasion, legal steps were taken to assure a distinction between the true and the false: toward the middle of the fourteenth century, laws were passed regulating the guilds of the *cristalliers* and the *pierriers de voirre*—cutters of crystal and natural stones who were also skilled at fabrications—in order to avoid confusion between real and imitation stones.¹⁷ Commercially, of course, this distinction must always have been important, but for decorative purposes there was apparently no prejudice against substitutes if costlier materials were not available. In fact, the transformation of base materials into objects of brightness and color had a special appeal to the mediaeval mind; the revelation of potential luminosity in dull surfaces provided a favorite analogy for the Dionysian light metaphysics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a period intoxicated with light in all its manifestations. These centuries, moreover, witnessed the development and perfection of the Gothic style, a style which brought together in complex interrelationship and rare concordance the sumptuous arts, the art of stained glass, and the art of architecture. Contributing in no small measure to the achievement of this harmony were the skills of the goldsmith and the versatility of the artisan in glass.

It is natural in this context that we think of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, who so justly is associated with the genesis of the Gothic style and the development of the monumental art of stained glass. Nowhere is the love for shining objects and precious materials revealed with greater enthusiasm than in the writings of this key figure in church and kingdom.¹⁸ His works abound in elaborate descriptions of altar frontals, sacred vessels, and richly decorated objects, especially those ornamented with precious stones, and it is in the contemplation of these luminous materials that he describes his

13. In *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters*, ed. Albert Ilg, IV, Vienna, 1888. I wish to thank Mrs. Irene Heppner of the Cleveland Museum of Art for assistance in the translation of this work.

14. This analogy is brought even closer in James Barrelet's authoritative *La verrerie en France*, Paris, 1953, in which it is revealed that glass cabochons and plaques were used to decorate the walls of Romanesque and Gothic churches. See pp.

20, 33, 39-43. I am indebted to Mr. Paul Norman Perrot of the Corning Glass Center for this reference.

15. See esp. Edgar de Bruyne, *Études d'esthétique médiévale*, Bruges, 1946.

16. Escard, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

17. *ibid.*, p. 20.

18. Translated by Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis*, Princeton, 1946.

famous *ascensio* (*De administratione*, xxxiii). Following this, Suger gives an elaborate account of his sumptuous and "most sacred windows," including those of sapphire glass, entrusted to the care of "a master craftsman and a goldsmith" (*De administratione*, xxxiv; *De consecratione*, iv).

Abbot Suger was surrounded by masters of the sumptuous arts, rejoicing in the magnificence of their works. In his references to the earlier shrine built by Dagobert, Suger dwells at length upon the incomparable radiance and splendor of that church, "gleaming with gold and gems," which he is about to enlarge (*De consecratione*, ii). It is not unreasonable to suppose that Suger would wish to surpass this famous work by combining the leading skills of his time in an effort to transform the very walls of his new church into jewel-like enclosures gleaming with the "new light," creating in a manner entirely consonant with the analogical thinking of his age a monumental *châsse* in honor of the Holy Martyrs of this most sacred shrine of France.

The illuminating studies of Hanns Swarzenski¹⁹ have emphasized the monumental significance during the Middle Ages of the reliquary and the sacred vessel, objects whose luminous character and symbolic function placed them in a philosophical context similar to that of their architectural counterparts. It was Suger and his contemporaries, operating within the Dionysian framework and drawing from the arts and sciences of their day, who achieved an extraordinary synthesis resulting in the formation of the Gothic style. There is a possibility—yet to be proven by the examination of many objects²⁰—that the windows of Suger's church, created by techniques common to the glazier and goldsmith, were preeminent examples of this synthesis. If this hypothesis is correct, the chant sung at the laying of the foundation stones for Saint-Denis, *Lapides preciosi omnes muri tui*—"All thy walls are precious stones," will take on further significance in addition to its earlier Neoplatonic and Augustinian connotations.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

REMBRANDT, CALLOT, AND TOBIAS STIMMER

RACHEL WISCHNITZER

Rembrandt's architectural settings have received relatively little attention, and the discussion started by

Carl Neumann¹ more than fifty years ago has not been resumed until recently.² That Neumann's interest should have been focused on Rembrandt's conception of the Temple of Jerusalem is only natural since this building appears in a number of Rembrandt's Old and New Testament scenes.

We can see the problem perhaps more clearly today owing to a better knowledge of the attempts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to reconstruct the Temple. The question arises: was Rembrandt aware of these scholarly efforts based on the study of the literary sources and, if so, how did the new ideas affect his representations of the Temple?

The Jewish Temple at Jerusalem was portrayed in the fifteenth century as a radially planned structure owing to the belief that the Dome of the Rock, a seventh century Moslem shrine, was that ancient building. The octagonal, domed temple is to be seen, for instance, in Pietro Perugino's *Delivery of the Keys to Peter* (Sistine Chapel, 1482).³ Bernard Breydenbach, anxious to obtain an authentic view of the Temple for his *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz, 1486), took along to Jerusalem the Utrecht designer Erhart Reuwich to have him draw the building on the spot.⁴ The woodcut was widely copied.

It may be noted that with their vague notion of the Jewish Temple, the designers did not differentiate the Temple of Jesus' time built by Herod from the ancient Temple of Solomon. Thus the octagonal building is inscribed in Breydenbach's work "Templum Salomonis." The same type of structure stands for Herod's Temple in Perugino's fresco.

The pilgrims to the Holy Land anxious to locate the historic sites were faced with a problem. There were two buildings in Jerusalem on the temple grounds: the octagonal Dome of the Rock and the basilical el-Aqsa Mosque, another seventh century structure. The first was taken to be the Temple of the Lord, i.e. the Temple of Jesus' time. It figures as such in the pilgrims' reports. It is occasionally said to have been built by King Solomon.⁵ However, the building chiefly associated with Solomon was the second one, situated to the south of the Dome of the Rock. It is referred to in the thirteenth century sources as the "Temple of Solomon,"⁶ or the "Palace of Solomon,"⁷ and in the late fifteenth century as the "Porch of Solomon."⁸

The association with Solomon evidently goes back to the references to a Solomonic Porch in the Book of

19. Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, London and Chicago, 1954, *passim*.

20. Promising evidence has recently come to light in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, through the courtesy of Dr. James J. Rorimer and Mr. William H. Forsyth. Shortly before this issue went to press, the author had the opportunity to examine some of the glass gems in the Medieval Collections, discovering a lined ruby among the gems of a twelfth century German crucifix, and a Romanesque St. Christopher medallion with random striations of vitreous reds. By necessity, a search of this type is restricted to chipped and fractured pieces which lend themselves to internal examination. The author would appreciate information from other persons who have access to fragments of this nature.

1. C. Neumann, *Rembrandt*, Munich, 1924, 4th ed., pp. 749ff. (1st ed. 1902).

2. F. Landsberger, "Rembrandt and Josephus," *ART BULLETIN*, xxxvi, 1954, pp. 62-63.

3. U. Gnoli, *Pietro Perugino*, Spoleto, 1923, pl. 4.

4. J. de Jong, *Architectuur bij de nederlandse Schildern voor de Hervorming*, Amsterdam, 1934, p. 30.

5. "Anonymous Pilgrim, vii," *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, London (cited as P.P.T.S.), 1894, p. 71.

6. "City of Jerusalem," P.P.T.S., 1888, pp. 12-13.

7. "Fetellus," P.P.T.S., 1892, p. 3.

8. "Felix Fabri," P.P.T.S., 1892, I, 1, p. 483.

Acts. One pilgrim, John of Würzburg (1160-1170), who is still vague in the designation of the south building—he calls it merely the “building of Solomon”—cites in the same context an episode from Acts 3, the healing of the lame man by Peter and John, where the Porch of Solomon is mentioned. From Acts was evidently derived also the name of the “Beautiful Gate” identified by John of Würzburg with a gate in the west from which the temple grounds were entered in his time.⁹

In Georg Braun's *Civitates orbis terrarum*,¹⁰ a six-volume cartographical work with woodcuts by Franz Hogenberg and others, three designs of temples are reproduced and no attempt is made to coordinate the different versions. The three-story building of piled-up, diminishing cubes in volume I is termed in the index the “antique and modern” temple. The octagonal structure with the legend “Templum Salomonis” in volume II figures in the index as the “modern” temple. The diagram in the shape of a broad rectangle in volume IV, is said to represent the Temple of the time of Christ.

The compiler of the map in which this rectangular temple form appears, the Dutch theologian Christian van Adrichom, placed to the south of the Temple the “Palatium Salomonis,” a reminiscence of the pilgrim tradition, and among the gates leading up to the Temple on the east side the “Porta speciosa,” the “Beautiful Gate” of Acts 3. John of Würzburg, we may remember, located the Beautiful Gate on the west side.

It is difficult to put a finger on the exact spot where the new concept of the Temple originated, but it seems certain that it first appeared in the Bibles of the Protestants, and since the Temple of Solomon is described in the Old Testament, this Temple assumed a rectangular form first. We find the exterior of the Solomonic Temple conceived on the new lines in a Martin Luther Bible with woodcuts by Erhard Altendorfer (Lübeck, 1534).¹¹ In another Martin Luther Bible with woodcuts by the Swiss Jost Amman (Frankfort on the Main, 1566) the exterior and the interior of the rectangular Temple of Solomon are shown with the ceremonial furnishings and the two free-standing columns at the entrance as described in the First Book of Kings. These woodcuts at a reduced scale were brought out in Frankfort by the same publishers in *Biblorum utriusque Testamenti Icones* in 1571.¹² The

smaller Amman woodcuts were used also in a Louvain Bible re-issued in Venice by Nicolaus Bevilacqua in 1583.¹³

Summing up the scholarly investigations based on the study of the Bible and Josephus Flavius, two Spanish Jesuits, Geronimo Prado and Juan Baptista Villalpando¹⁴ compiled an ambitious three-volume work on the Temple of Solomon which was illustrated with large-scale engravings, plans, elevations, sections, and details in a magnificent if somewhat dry Renaissance style. The success of this publication brought out in Rome was due to the superiority of the architectural drawings, which were highly valued by lovers of classical design. It became a source of inspiration for generations of biblical scholars and draughtsmen in Germany, Holland, England and France.

If we mention at this point a treatise by a Franciscan friar Bernardino Amico,¹⁵ it is not because of any new contributions it offers toward the reconstruction of the Temple, but because a copy of the book was in Rembrandt's possession. This was established by Neumann,¹⁶ who identified the volume as “Gantz Jerusalem van Jacob Calot” listed in the inventory of Rembrandt's art books.¹⁷

The attribution of the engravings and etchings in Bernardino's treatise to Jacques Callot has been confirmed by documentary evidence.¹⁸

Bernardino stressed the difference between the ancient Temple of Solomon (which is illustrated in the volume by an oblong rectangular structure) and the octagonal building, the “Tempio moderna,” which appears in a large etching labeled “Jerusalem as it is today” (Fig. 1). The Temple of Herod, mentioned with a reference to Josephus' *Jewish War*, 1.21.1 (his 1.27.49), but not illustrated in the book, is called in the text a “renovatio” of the ancient Temple.

The three buildings are thus differentiated clearly enough, except that the caption on one plate showing the octagonal building on a larger scale separately and with its ground plan may be somewhat misleading. It runs: “Temple of Solomon used by the Turks for their worship.” The author points out in the text that the name “Temple of Solomon” was *usurped* by the octagonal building, but it takes some patience to read the text.¹⁹

Among the publications discussing the Temple in Rembrandt's time or merely illustrating it may be men-

9. “John of Würzburg,” *P.P.T.S.*, 1890, pp. 15, 17.

10. Cologne, 1576-1618. I have used the copy of the New York Public Library.

11. The Bible is listed in *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1872, I, p. 553. I have used the copy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

12. The Bible and the *Icones* were published by C. and S. Feierabend. See *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, I, pp. 639ff. and 648. Copies at the Metropolitan Museum. The first edition of this Bible with woodcuts is of 1564.

13. See *Historical Catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London, 1911, II, pt. 2, p. 954. Leaves from this Bible are in my possession.

14. Hieronimi Pradi et Joannis Baptistae Villalpandi, . . .

in *Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus urbis, ac Templi Hierosolymitani commentariis et imaginibus illustratus*, Rome, 1596-1604.

15. Bernardino Amico da Gallipoli, *Trattato delle piante et immagini de sacri edifizii di terra santa*, Florence, 1620. I have used the copy of the New York Public Library.

16. Neumann, *op.cit.*, p. 750.

17. C. Hofstede de Groot, “Die Urkunden über Rembrandt,” in *Quellenstudien zur holländischen Kunstgeschichte*, The Hague, 1906, III, p. 203, no. 255.

18. E. Bruwaert, “Jacques Callot à Florence,” *Revue de Paris*, XXI^{me} année, t. 3 (June 15, 1914) p. 838.

19. My thanks are due to Dr. Gisella Cahnmann for helping me with the Italian text.

tioned the *Icones Biblicae* with engravings by the Swiss Matthaeus Merian.²⁰ His view of Jerusalem with the Temple of Solomon was a most elaborate, amplified version of Jost Amman's schematic woodcut.

Jacob Jehuda Leon, a Spanish Jew, used the Villalpando designs in his *Retrato del Templo de Salomo*.²¹ Leon moved in the 1640's to Amsterdam where his wooden model of the Temple of Solomon was a great attraction for many years. It was mentioned as late as 1664 in Philip von Zesen's guidebook of Amsterdam.²² Leon placed the palaces of King Solomon and his queen on the south (left) side in his engraving of the Temple. Neither in I Kings 7, where the palaces are mentioned, nor in any other Jewish sources, is their location given. Leon must have adopted Villalpando's view about the southern location of the "Regia Salomonis"²³ or else have interpreted the "royal portico" of Herodian times in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, xv.11.5 as an ancient Solomonic structure.

A reconstruction of the Herodian Temple from data in Josephus *War*, v.5, was compiled by Thomas Fuller. His plan is T-shaped with the entrance hall in the cross bar. To the south of the Temple we see in the engraving the "Porch of Solomon." Commenting on this porch, Fuller points out that it was a separate structure, a cloister, not to be confused with the temple porch proper. In his opinion this porch was located to the east of the Temple.²⁴ The discrepancy with the engraving, which shows the porch on the south side, was evidently due to the fact that the plate was made for another publication favoring the traditional southern location. Borrowing of plates was a not uncommon practice among publishers.

The two reconstructions, Villalpando's of the Solomonic and Fuller's of the Herodian Temple, were used by Wenzel Hollar in his engravings for the Brian Walton Polyglot Bible.²⁵ It is noteworthy that in Hollar's plan of the Temple of Herod the portico which runs along the south side of the temple area is called "porticus regia sive Salomonis," obviously a combination of *Antiquities*, xv.11.5 and Acts 3:11 and 5:12.

With this background in mind, we turn to Rembrandt's representations of the Temple or Temples of Jerusalem.

Rembrandt shows the Temple of Solomon in the *Prophet Jeremiah Mourning over the Destruction of the Temple* (1630).²⁶ The burning Temple in the left rear is a circular structure with a Baroque portal and a saucer dome.

In the *Reconciliation of David and Absalom* (1642)²⁷ there appears in the background a heavily buttressed polygonal clerestory building with a saucer dome on a drum. It is noteworthy that, unaware of the fact that the Temple did not yet exist in David's time, Rembrandt even placed the two free-standing columns in front of the building, a feature of the Temple of Solomon (I Kings 7:15).

Without the columns the centralized structure stands for the palace in Susa in Rembrandt's etching *The Triumph of Mordecai* (around 1640).²⁸

In scenes set in the Temple's interior it is difficult to determine the form Rembrandt had in mind. He usually gives a fragmentary view of the setting suggested by an arch, a column, a flight of stairs, or a curtain. Wherever the shape of the enclosed space may be discerned, as in *Simon in the Temple* (1631),²⁹ it evokes a rounded interior rather than one defined by intersecting planes.

In one instance, *The Tribute Money*, an etching of about 1634,³⁰ a rectangular hall is possibly suggested in the shaded rear of the interior by lines running toward a vanishing point. Not much clearer is the architectural background of the *Tribute Money* of 1655, a painting.³¹

It may be concluded that Rembrandt preferred the traditional rendering of the Temple of Jerusalem as a round or polygonal building. He did not differentiate between the first or Solomonic Temple and the Temple of the time of Christ. In Bernardino's treatise he found the domed octagonal building on two plates and in view of the somewhat misleading caption on one of them, or because he had known the building from numerous other representations as the Temple of Jerusalem, he used it as his model.

Neumann, strangely enough, did not consider the octagonal building in Callot's etching of Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock, as the prototype of Rembrandt's Temple representations. He picked out a little round pavilion outside the city wall shown on the right side of the print (Fig. 1) as Rembrandt's Temple model.³² In fact, any of the circular buildings in Callot's plan of Jerusalem would do just as well. But the question is just where, if not from the Dome of the Rock and the Christian tradition associated with it, could Rembrandt have obtained the evidence that the Temple was a central-plan structure?

In connection with the problem of Rembrandt's Temple concept, it will be of interest to examine his etching *Peter and John at the Gate of the Temple*

20. Strasbourg, Zetzner, 1625-1630. In three parts. The view of the Temple is in pt. 1. The same set of engravings is used in Merian's *Biblia, Das ist die gantze Schrift*, Strasbourg, Zetzner, 1630. Both works also published by N. Visscher in Amsterdam, n.d.

21. Middelburg, 1642. On the influence of Villalpando's designs see J. Zwarts, "Oud-hollandse modellen van de Tempel van Salomo," *Historia*, 1938, pp. 277ff., 307ff., and 1939, pp. 64ff.

22. P. von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1664, p. 271.

23. Hieronimi Pradi, *op.cit.*, III, p. 73.

24. T. Fuller, *A Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, London, 1650, p. 433.

25. *Biblia polyglotta*, London, 1657.

26. F. Landsberger, *Rembrandt, the Jews and the Bible*, Philadelphia, 1946, pl. 36.

27. A. Bredius, ed., *The Paintings of Rembrandt*, Vienna, n.d., pl. 511.

28. A. M. Hind, *A Catalogue of Rembrandt's Etchings*, London, 1923, II, no. 172; I, p. 86.

29. Bredius, *op.cit.*, pl. 543.

30. Hind, *op.cit.*, II, no. 124; I, p. 75.

31. Bredius, *op.cit.*, pl. 586. 32. Neumann, *op.cit.*, p. 752.

Healing the Lame Man, a late work dated 1659 (Fig. 2). By the time Rembrandt etched this Temple scene illustrating Acts 3:1-11, he may have come to feel more strongly the pressure of the new ideas about the form of the Temple.

Franz Landsberger³³ in discussing the architectural setting of this etching, suggested that Rembrandt followed in his temple design the descriptions of the Temple of Herod in Josephus' *Jewish War* (v.5) and *Antiquities* (xv.11).

Landsberger pointed out that Rembrandt owned a German edition of Josephus' collected works. This one-volume Josephus illustrated by Tobias Stimmer was brought out in Strasbourg in 1574. Eight more editions, or rather printings, of the work had appeared up to 1609.³⁴ The inventory of Rembrandt's books lists a Josephus "met figueren van Tobias Timmerman."³⁵

Landsberger holds that Rembrandt closely followed Josephus' descriptions of the Herodian Temple in his etching of the episode from the Book of Acts. His thesis is that wherever Rembrandt departed from the text in Josephus, he did it owing to the inaccuracies of the German translation, usually the missing of a qualifying word, which left him free to choose his architectural forms.³⁶

Let us examine the scene (Fig. 2). On an elevated platform in the foreground we see on the left in back view the lame man half reclining on the ground before Peter, who is standing facing the spectator, and John, who is standing in side view facing left. The group, or rather the whole scene, is enframed by a dilapidated arched gateway that opens onto a court in middle distance on a lower level with a smoking altar occupying the center of the court. The smoke billows between two free-standing columns which front an open canopied porch on the left side. The porch leads to a structure with a roundheaded doorway farther to the left. Alongside this architectural group, in the rear, rises a huge tower.

Contrasted with the pile of buildings in the left part of the picture, we see extending to the right low, terraced walls with olive trees in the farther distance.

Landsberger interprets the tower as the castle Antonia; the lower of the terraces with a crowded tribune as the women's area, and the structure with the canopied porch as the Herodian Temple.³⁷

The fortress Antonia is described by Josephus (*Antiquities*, xv.11.4; *Jewish War*, v.5.6) as a citadel protecting the Temple. Fortified by Herod, it was occupied after his death by a Roman legion.

We have to consider now what the building in the etching is meant to be in the light of the Book of

Acts. In Acts 4:3 and 5:18 it is related how Peter was thrown into the prison for his unauthorized miracle cure.

The building, then, is a prison in the context of Acts. Its heavy mass looming in the background forecasts the dramatic development of the episode as presented in the Book of Acts. Important, too, for the interpretation of the scene is the view of the author of the Book of Acts that the prison was in the power of the Jewish priests, not the Romans. We shall discuss the shape of the prison tower in due course.

Turning now to the tribune with tiny figures at the parapet, we note that Josephus does not speak of an elevated area for the women. Moreover, according to Josephus (*Antiquities*, xv.11.5; *Jewish War*, v.5.2) the women's court was on the east side, opposite the Temple entrance. In the etching it is at an angle to the canopied building assumed to be the Temple. But more disturbing than this inconsistency is the incongruity of the canopied building itself. Examining it more closely, we note that it is a shallow exedra-like pavilion with no room for a cella and an adytum, i.e. the Holy and the Holy of Holies. The vista which opens behind its sharply foreshortened rear onto some more distant architecture suggested by a small-scale arch, shows how little expansion it has. Landsberger took great pains to interpret the canopied exterior porch as the curtained interior door of the Holy—Josephus speaks actually of two doors (*Jewish War*, v.5.4)—but the interpretation is not convincing.³⁸ Baffling too is the seated figure in back view inside this supposedly Jewish temple.

In reading carefully Acts 3:2-3, as Rembrandt must have read the passage himself, we obtain some idea of the topography of the scene: "And a certain man, lame from his mother's womb, was carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask alms of them that entered into the temple who, seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple, asked an alms."

Rembrandt followed the text pretty closely. The lame man is seated at a gate, the arched opening that enframes the scene. Peter and John have entered the gate. The lame man, seated this side of the gate, faces everyone that enters. Seeing the two men, he stops them as they are about to go to the Temple. The Temple is not shown, it is behind the lame beggar and hence behind the spectator, beyond the picture plane.

By discarding the interpretation of the canopied porch as the Temple entrance, we invite a number of questions: what was the purpose of the canopied porch, what is the meaning of the Solomonic columns in front of the building which, by the way, do not appear

33. Landsberger, *ART BULLETIN*, xxxvi, 1954, pp. 62-63.

34. Flavius Josephus, *Jüdische Geschichten* . . . tr. C. Lautenbach, Strasbourg, Th. Rihel, 1st ed., 1574. A number of the eighty-four woodcuts of this edition are signed by Christoph Stimmer, others by Christoph von Schem and Christoph Meyer. Some are unsigned. The drawings for the woodcuts were by Tobias Stimmer. For the sake of brevity we refer to "Stimmer's woodcuts."

35. Hofstede de Groot, *op.cit.*, p. 205, no. 284. The inventory does not give the date of the Josephus copy owned by Rembrandt. We use the edition of 1590 with preface of 1574 in the New York Public Library.

36. Landsberger, *ART BULLETIN*, xxxvi, 1954, p. 62.

37. *ibid.*, pp. 62f.

38. *ibid.*, p. 62.

in Josephus' description of the Herodian Temple, and what is the role of the High Priest standing near the porch?

The presence of the High Priest who does not figure in Acts 3 calls for an explanation in the first place. It is to be noted that the High Priest's appearance does not betray any knowledge on the part of Rembrandt of the detailed description of the High Priest's vestments in Josephus (*Jewish War*, v.5.7). The figure with mantle and high headgear is treated sketchily and the crozier carried by an attendant is actually a Christian bishop's attribute. But reading Acts carefully, we come to understand that the presence of the High Priest is well motivated. In Acts 4:6ff., Annas, the High Priest, and his party gather to discuss the activities of the missionaries of the new sect. Troubled by their success, they forbid Peter and John to talk to anyone about the cure. Thus the figure of the High Priest, in very much the same way as the prison building, serves to foreshadow the dramatic turn of events.

The people who watch the scene with "wonder and amazement" (Acts 3:10) are represented by the two men who advance from the left with gestures of suspicion and apprehension. Their elaborate clothing suggests that they belong to the entourage of the High Priest. They obviously reflect the feelings of the priestly party as conveyed by the Book of Acts. The apostles, in contrast, are characterized by plain clothes and robust demeanor.

The episode in Acts 3 was clearly conceived by Rembrandt as a conflict between the Temple circles and the Christian sect. Rembrandt has based his interpretation not merely on the brief passage in the third chapter of Acts, but rather on the whole Book of Acts, which he had read carefully.

His ignorance of Josephus may be illustrated by the way he treated the altar. Since the altar is not mentioned in Acts, but is described in detail by Josephus, it was plausible to assume the derivation of the motif from Josephus. However, there is no evidence of such borrowing. The source must be sought elsewhere, unless we be satisfied with the explanation that the temple court and a priest readily evoke an altar by association. In his *Medea*,³⁹ an etching of 1648, Rembrandt uses the same accessories: a priest, an altar, the billowing smoke rising from the altar and the crowded tribune. The altar in our scene is round like a fountain basin in sharp contrast to the Herodian altar as described in Josephus.

Landsberger⁴⁰ attempted to excuse the divergence in pointing out that the word "square" is omitted in the German translation of the passage in *Jewish War*, v.5.6. However, the text (fol. 452a) is clear as it is: "Der Altar aber vor dem Tempel war 15 Elen hoch,

40 breyt und lang und gleichsam mit ausgereckten Hörnern in die vier Ecke gebawen."⁴¹

The data are: equal length and width and projecting horns in the four corners.

Rembrandt has ignored all of this. He has ignored also what Josephus says a little further in the passage about the access to the altar. There was an easy and gentle rise on the south side which the designers following Josephus used to interpret as a ramp. Rembrandt surrounded his altar with steps.

The departure from Josephus cannot be accounted for by an inadequate translation.

Nor is the omission of the word "square" in the description of the fortress Antonia in *Antiquities*, xv.11.4 an excuse for the round shape of Rembrandt's prison building. In turning the page from the discussion of the altar on fol. 452a to fol. 452b, Rembrandt would have easily found the needed information: "Sonst war das Schloss Antonia wie ein Thurn gestaltet auch auff den Ecken mit vier anderen Thurnen bevestigt" (*Jewish War*, v.5.8). The data here are: a tower with four turrets at the corners. Rembrandt betrays no knowledge of this passage either.

Since Rembrandt, judging from what Joachim von Sandrart⁴² had to say about the artist, did not know German, there is not much likelihood of his having been acquainted with Josephus' Temple descriptions.

But there is evidence that he carefully read the book of Acts. Like the mediaeval pilgrims, he must have pondered over the location of the "Beautiful Gate" of Acts 3:2 and the "Porch of Solomon." The location of the porch was not quite clear. Acts 3:8-11 could be interpreted as meaning that the people followed the lame man, now healed, into the temple porch. The alternative was that they watched him from the "Solomonic Porch," i.e. from the outside as he was leaving the Temple.⁴³ Acts 5:12 confirms the impression that the so-called "Porch of Solomon," used as a popular gathering place, was a portico not attached to the Temple.

The pilgrims who believed in the authenticity of the extant buildings in the Temple area identified the Porch of Solomon with the south building (the el-Aqsa Mosque). We see the basilical structure in Callot's view to the left (south) of the octagonal building. In Bernardino's time it was the residence of the Franciscans ("luogo di frati M").⁴⁴ Bernardino must have lived there during his stay in Jerusalem. However, the pilgrim tradition regarding the Solomonic origin of the building was carried on, as has been seen, in sixteenth and seventeenth century cartography. Rembrandt, it may be noted, placed his canopied porch on the left side of the scene.

The subsequent phase of the story with the lame man walking and the people watching him from the

39. Hind, *op.cit.*, II, no. 235.

40. Landsberger, *loc.cit.*

41. I have preserved the archaic language and spelling of the German text.

42. J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1675, ch. xxii, pp. 326-327.

43. The latter reading of Acts 3:11 is adopted in a modern interpretation. See A. S. Peake, ed., *A Commentary on the Bible*, London, 1919, p. 780.

44. Owing to its poor legibility, the legend of Callot's plan is not reproduced.

Solomonic porch is not and could not be portrayed, but it is implied by what we do see. The porch is pointed out by the Solomonic columns evocative of its name and the people are actually gathered at the porch and outside it, close to the foreground scene.

To prevent a confusion with the Temple, Rembrandt placed inside the canopied building the incongruous figure seated back turned toward the entrance. The pedestal on which the figure is seated suggests a statue, an object one would not expect to find in a Jewish temple.

As has been noted before, the arch that enframes the scene is a gate leading to the Temple. It is identified as the "Beautiful Gate" of Acts 3:2-4 by the presence of the lame man and the apostles. Its dilapidated condition is clearly symbolic of the imminent downfall of the Temple. In Callot's plan of Jerusalem the "Porta Spetiosa" is the central of the three crenellated gateways on the west side, the one overlapped in part by the octagonal Dome of the Rock. We can easily imagine the lame man seated on this side of the gate with the Temple at his back. The southern building (on the left) would have to be shifted upward somewhat to agree with the location of the Solomonic porch in Rembrandt's etching (Fig. 1).

Was Rembrandt familiar with the tradition associated with that building? Or is it pure coincidence that he placed the Solomonic porch on the left side? In fact, the arrangement of the scene with the main figures in the left foreground called for a backdrop on the left. Thus pictorial considerations alone could account *à la rigueur* for the emphasis on the left background. Not so easily accounted for is the question about the composition of the figure group with the lame man in the rather unusual back view.

Obviously Tobias Stimmer's woodcuts in the Josephus owned by Rembrandt come to mind in the first place.

Hofstede de Groot⁴⁵ considered in a general way the possibility of an influence of Stimmer's illustrations upon Rembrandt's work, but he could not discover any evidence of it. Perhaps with a specific work as a point of departure, the search would have been more rewarding.

In leafing through the volume one comes across a scene on fol. 475b which must have arrested Rembrandt's attention (Fig. 3). The woodcut, an illustration to *Jewish War*, v.3-4, represents the Temple before its imminent downfall. An apparition in the sky and other unusual happenings forecast the doom. A man in the foreground is lamenting the fate of the Temple. The episode—a literal portrayal of the narrative in Josephus—does not concern us here, nor is the Herodian Temple, only partially visible, especially interesting except that it seems to be a rectangular building. Emphasis is on the ascent to the Temple, a wind-

ing road with open gateways and people seen on different levels.

One group on the level just above the stepped foreground platform is particularly striking. It depicts a man, half reclining, in back view, with two others standing before him. The figure on the ground seems to be a sick man. His posture resembles that of another man, more prostrate, who is seen a little further to the left, beyond an entrance marked by a parapet and two armed guards. The men lying on the ground are evidently cripples or sick beggars expecting alms from the priests passing by. The two men standing closely together near the first beggar are priests, to judge from their long garments. One of them is facing the spectator, the other is shown in side view facing left (Fig. 4).

The position of the beggar and the priests in the woodcut readily evokes that of Peter, John, and the lame man in Rembrandt's etching. It seems certain that Rembrandt derived the idea of presenting the beggar in back view from this woodcut.

He did not adopt this solution from the outset, however.

In a study for the etching, a pen and bistre drawing (Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt),⁴⁶ with the group in reverse (Fig. 5), the lame man is clearly in an early, experimental stage with tentatively sketched three legs. He is seated in $\frac{3}{4}$ view, facing left. The silhouette of the apostles resembles that of the priests in Stimmer's woodcut. It is Peter, not John who is shown in side view. He extends his arms in a familiar gesture which carries us back to Rembrandt's early period; it is found in his black chalk drawing of a single figure (Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden) (Fig. 6) dated by Benesch about 1629.⁴⁷ Rembrandt knew the motif from the workshop of his teacher, Pieter Lastman, who had used it in the *Resurrection of Lazarus* (1622)⁴⁸ and other paintings.

Considerable advance in the composition of the scene is to be noted in an etching by Rembrandt which because of its rough execution has been dated by Hind only slightly later than the chalk drawing in Dresden, i.e. about 1630.⁴⁹ However, the etching cannot antedate the Darmstadt drawing as a comparison of the two versions clearly shows (Figs. 5 and 7). The rapid, nervous, but firm lines, the impatient hatchings reveal an improvising hand, the inspiration of the moment. This may account for the poor execution. The apostles are now in the right position, shifted closer to the lame man, but the emphasis is not on them. In fact, the figure of John is wilfully smeared over. Interest in the setting is now introduced perhaps for the first time. There are no other preliminary sketches extant. The group appears upon a raised platform which, it may be recalled, is a feature of Stimmer's woodcut. The lame man turns toward a gateway, on

45. Hofstede de Groot, "Rembrandts Bijbelsche en historische voorstellingen," *Oud-Holland*, xli.1-6 (1923-1924) p. 53.

46. O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, London, 1954, I, no. 111. Dated by Benesch about 1635.

47. *ibid.*, I, no. 12.

48. K. Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1920, v, fig. 149.

49. Hind, *op.cit.*, II, no. 5, dates the etching 1629-1630 on the ground of its poor execution.

the left, the "Beautiful Gate" of the Book of Acts. Two men, evidently worshippers, come up from the left where we have to suppose the stairs. The apostles have just arrived and are being stopped by the lame beggar on their way to the Temple. The Temple is not shown. It must be imagined on the right, opposite the gate, beyond the picture frame. A few sketched lines on the extreme right suggest some architecture, a columnar wing or a parapet.

It is worth noting that the representation of the Temple was not contemplated in this study.

The posture of the lame man is now determined by the presence of the gate, which is somewhat removed from the first plane. In order that he may face the gate, he has been turned a little toward the rear; his head appears in a lost profile, his right arm and right leg are no longer visible and we see more of his back.

We can easily understand what Rembrandt missed in the arrangement of the setting in this etching. The outlook from the foreshortened and partly screened gate down into the country was limited. By widening the gate and turning it around so that it would encompass the whole scene, a vast panorama could be unfolded offering room for the significant elements of the story: the Solomonic porch, the prison, the High Priest, not to speak of the various accessories, the altar, the tribune, the terraces, the crowds, and last but not least the olive trees.

Stimmer's posture of the beggar, which was then adopted, made this solution possible.

It seems that Rembrandt turned time and again to the woodcut in his Josephus discovering in it new points of interest as his work was maturing. There were the two worshipers in the earlier etching who became the two onlookers in the final version. The pairing of figures is typical of the groupings in Stimmer's woodcut. Anticipated by Stimmer was also the device of the figures overlapped by the platform. It proved very effective in the arrangement of the figures in the altar court. The altar itself could have been suggested by the sacrificial animals led to the Temple in the woodcut (Fig. 3).

Even the shape of the "Beautiful" archway which enframes the scene finds its counterpart in Stimmer's woodcut. Elliptical or three-centered arches were not so much in use in Holland in Rembrandt's time. Stimmer uses segmental arches in the Temple façade and an elliptical arch in the large gateway where it is rather awkwardly combined with pilasters and a pediment.⁵⁰ The architectural setting is altogether a composite. Callot's view of Jerusalem with the long arcade running in the back of the Temple grounds (Fig.

1) has suggested the motif of the low terraces with the arched recesses which in Rembrandt's etching also close the Temple court. The pattern of the windows in the recesses was provided again by Stimmer's Temple. Stimmer's tower on a circular substructure evidently gave rise to the round prison tower in Rembrandt's etching. For circular buildings Rembrandt had in addition rich material in his collections of works on Roman antiquities. Neumann had already noted the resemblance of the building in the *Reconciliation of David and Absalom* with the so-called Temple of the Minerva Medica.⁵¹ The Castel Sant'Angelo may have inspired the prison building in Rembrandt's etching of 1659.⁵² It was a favorite theme with Marten van Heemskerck, Willem van Nieuwland,⁵³ and other Dutch artists.

However, for all the resources at his disposal, Rembrandt returned time and again to Tobias Stimmer. A figure kneeling on the altar steps in the etching wears a curious bonnet with a long tail reaching down to the waist. In Stimmer's woodcut several figures display a headdress of this design (Fig. 3).

Ludwig Münz⁵⁴ has suggested that something like the engraving illustrating Acts 3 in Merian's Bible (Fig. 8) may have served as a model for Rembrandt's three principal figures. In our view, the comparison brings out the differences rather than the similarities in Rembrandt's interpretation. In Merian's engraving the porch of the Herodian Temple is in the back of all three figures, Peter, John, and the lame man. As though on a stage, the three figures are presented in their broadest, fullest view, with manneristic gestures, an arrangement that cannot convey the mutual relationship and the feeling of participation stirred up in the beggar. Then, too, the apostles are shown leaving, as it were, and not about to proceed to the Temple. In Rembrandt's interpretation, the beggar faces the apostles, but is withdrawn from our scrutiny. It is left to the spectator's power of imagination and empathy to sense the emotion of the man projected back through the apostles and thus conveyed indirectly.

To conclude then: Rembrandt had not read his Bernardino, nor had he read his Josephus, but he had examined carefully and repeatedly the pictures in these books. And above all else, he has tried to relive the episode recounted in the Book of Acts. The painstakingly compiled reconstructions of the Temple by Biblical scholars could offer but little to an artist of Rembrandt's temper intent on conveying a psychological situation in terms of pictorially significant form.

STERN COLLEGE, YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

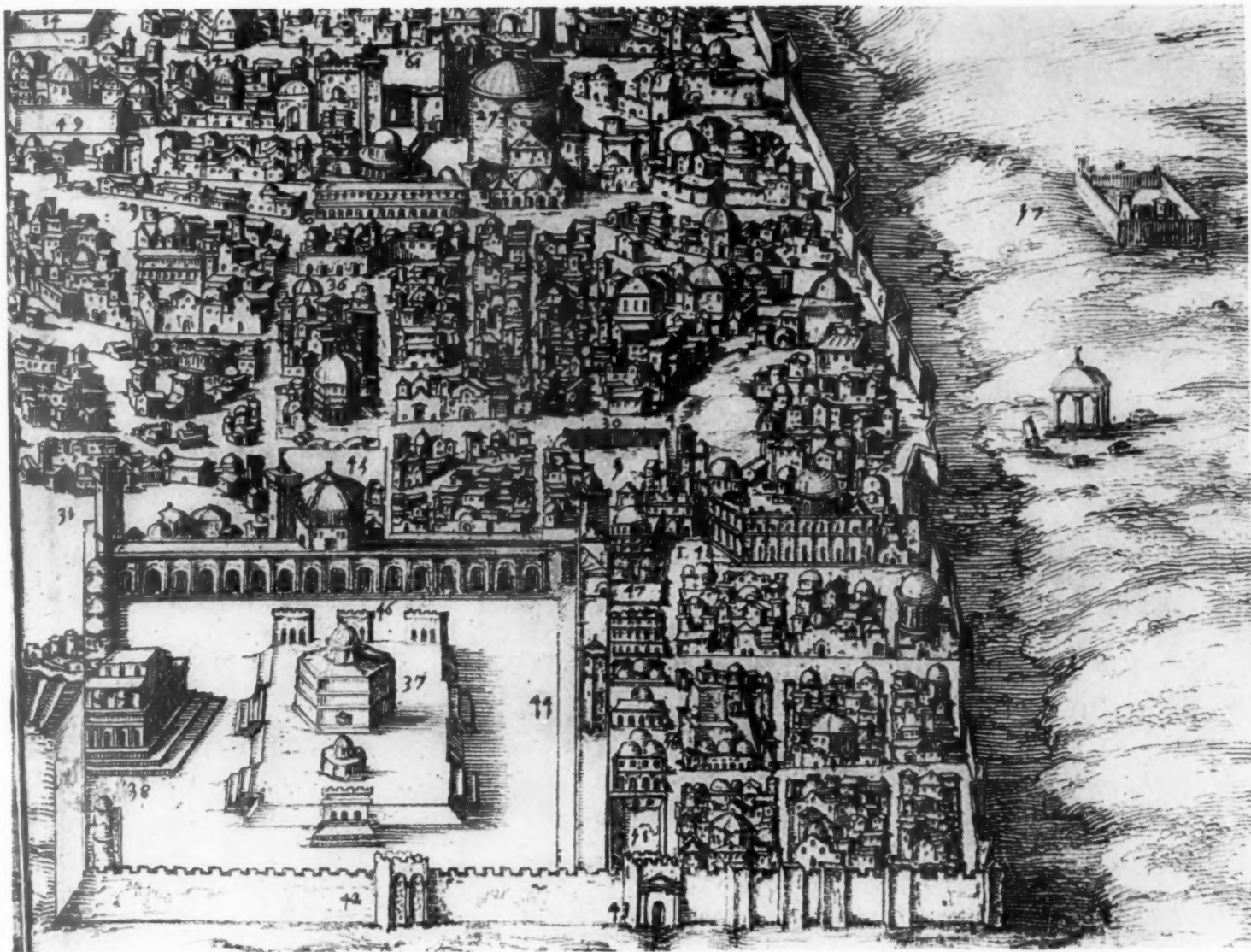
50. Driveways with three-centered arches are found in Amsterdam in the New Arsenal on the Singel (1606). See F. A. I. Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der nederlandse Bouwkunst*, The Hague, 1931, Part II (plates), pl. 515. This type of arch tends to be displaced in the 1630's by the semi-circular arch. In Germany the segmental arch was superseded by the three-centered around 1580. The latter was a new feature when Stimmer used it (G. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, Berlin, 1926, text vol. III, p. 220).

51. Neumann, *Rembrandt*, p. 752 and figs. 195, 196.

52. I owe this suggestion to Clay Lancaster.

53. For van Heemskerck's drawings of Castel Sant'Angelo, see C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, I, Berlin, 1913, pl. 59. For van Nieuwland's drawings of Sant'Angelo, see H. Egger, *Römische Veduten*, II, Vienna, 1932, pl. 11 and p. 19. Rembrandt owned portfolios of Roman antiquities. See Hofstede de Groot, "Die Urkunden über Rembrandt," p. 201, no. 227; p. 202, no. 240; and p. 203, nos. 248 and 253.

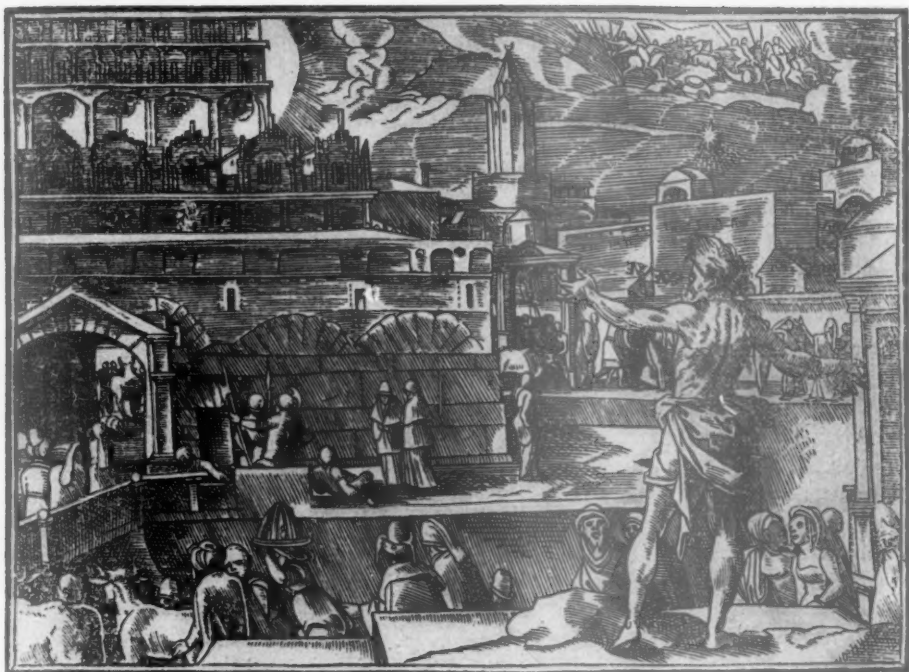
54. L. Münz, *Rembrandt's Etchings*, London, 1952, II, p. 91.



1. Jacques Callot, *Jerusalem* (detail). Etching (From Bernardino Amico, *Trattato delle piante et immagini de sacri edifizii di terra santa*, Florence, 1620)



2. Rembrandt, *Peter and John at the Gate of the Temple Healing the Lame Man*. Etching, 1659



3. Tobias Stimmer, *The Temple before Its Destruction*. Woodcut
(From Josephus Flavius, *Jüdische Geschichten*)



4. Detail of Fig. 3



5. Rembrandt, *Peter and John Healing the Lame Man*. Pen and bistre drawing.
Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum (From Otto Benesch, *The Drawings
of Rembrandt*, London, 1954)



6. Rembrandt, Figure Study. Black chalk drawing. Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett
(From Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, London, 1954)



7. Rembrandt, *Peter and John at the Gate of the Temple Healing the Lame Man*. Etching



8. Matthaeus Merian, *Peter and John Healing the Lame Man*. Engraving
(From *Biblia, Das ist die gantze Schrift*)

179

EMBLEMES

Book 3.

XIV



Oh that they were wise, then they would
understand this, they would consider
their latter end. *Deuteronomy 32. 1. Pious soul.*

1. *Flesh and Spirit in Conversation* (From Francis Quarles,
Emblemes, London, 1639)

THE ICONOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF QUARLES' "FLESH" AND "SPIRIT"

JOHN M. STEADMAN

In Emblem 14 of Book III Quarles¹ portrays two seated women engaged in conversation (Fig. 1). One is nude and holds a prism. The other is clothed and bears a telescope.

In the distance a skeleton with palm branch and sword (representing victorious Death) stands at the end of an *allée* of trees. Above, the heavens open to reveal God (symbolized by a triangle surrounded by angels) and the Last Judgment (represented by the Son of Man, flanked by angels with trumpets).

This emblem illustrates Deuteronomy 32:29—"O that men were wise, and that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end."² The accompanying dialogue identifies the two women as Flesh and Spirit and explains at length the significance of the contrast between the former's prism and the latter's telescope. Flesh dotes merely on "present toys," while Spirit contemplates her "latter end"—the eschatological realities of Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell.³

Quarles does not mention, however, the significance of his vestimentary symbolism. The fact that Flesh is represented as naked, while Spirit is fully clad, is left unexplained. For the background of this symbolic contrast one must turn to an iconographic tradition outlined in Panofsky's *Hercules am Scheidewege*⁴ and *Studies in Iconology*.⁵

Mediaeval and Renaissance artists not infrequently expressed the antithesis of carnal and spiritual values through contrasting female figures—one naked, the other clothed. Representations of Hercules' choice and related subjects sometimes portrayed Virtue as clothed

and Pleasure (*Voluptas*) or Vice as nude.⁶ Nudity also has a pejorative meaning in illustrations of the antitheses between Worldly Happiness and Heavenly Life,⁷ Nature and Reason,⁸ Nature and Grace,⁹ sinful Eve and the Virgin Mary. In these cases the vestimentary contrast usually reinforces the contrast between purity and impurity or between created nature and holiness.¹⁰

There are, however, significant variations from this conventional symbolism. In Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love*¹¹ and the *Felicità Eterna* and *Felicità Breve* of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*,¹² for example, the usual significance of the two figures is reversed, and the spiritual principle is represented by the nude. This inconsistency, Panofsky observes, is "not surprising in view of the ambivalence of nudity as an iconographical motif."¹³

Quarles' Flesh and Spirit, on the other hand, stem from the older and more usual tradition. Nudity is assigned pejoratively to the baser, carnal, or secular principle. Flesh is depicted in essentially the same manner as *Voluptas*, Nature, and Worldly Happiness. Moreover, like Nature and Reason or Nature and Grace, Flesh and Spirit are represented as engaged in dialogue.

There is another detail which suggests the possibility of a further link with the conventional iconography of Hercules' choice or a common debt to the tradition of the *Totentanz*. This is the presence of the skeleton in the background of Quarles' emblem. Representations of Hercules' choice in Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera navis*¹⁴ frequently portray a skeleton behind the naked *Voluptas*. Christoff Murer's¹⁵ version of Hercules' choice renders the symbolism still more explicit by inserting the words *VIA MORTIS* over the nude figure and its skeleton; an analogous label *VIA VITAE* characterizes the clothed figure of Virtue.

1. Francis Quarles, *Emblemes*, London, 1639, p. 180. The engraving is by I. Payne. The pagination in Figure 1 is incorrect.

2. *ibid.*, p. 181. A variant version of this text accompanies the engraving on p. 180.

3. Flesh opens the dialogue (p. 181):

Fl. What meanes my sisters eye so oft to passe
Through the long entry of that Optick glasse?

In reply, Spirit describes Death, Heaven, Hell, and the resurrection of the dead (pp. 181-182). Nevertheless, Flesh prefers her prism, which offers sensual and ephemeral delights (p. 182):

Fl. Can thy distemper'd fancie take delight
In view of Tortures? These are shewes t' affright:
Looke in this glasse-Triangular; looke here,
Here's that will ravish eyes. *Sp.* What seest thou there?

Fl. The world in colours; colours that distaine
The cheeks of *Proteus*, or the silken Train
Of *Floras* Nymphs. . . .

Sp. Ah foole! that dot'st on vaine, on present toys,
And disrespects those true, those future joyes!
How strongly are thy thoughts befoo'd, Alas,
To dote on goods that perish with thy Glasse!

4. Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, XVIII)*, Leipzig, 1930.

5. *Idem*, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the*

Art of the Renaissance, New York, 1939.

6. *Idem*, *Hercules*, figs. 30, 36, 38, 42, 46, 47, 47a, 50.

7. *Idem*, *Studies*, fig. 109, p. 154.

8. *Idem*, *Hercules*, fig. 111.

9. *ibid.*, fig. 110.

10. "... wo wir gar, wie in dem Concertationholzschnitt des lateinischen Narrenschiffs oder in Cranachs Braunschweiger Herculesbild, die nackte Frau in einem betonten Gegensatz zu einer bekleideten treten sehen, soll in der Regel der Kontrast zwischen Keuschheit und Unkeuschheit oder jedenfalls zwischen *Kreatürlichkeit* und *Heiligkeit* veranschaulicht werden. So wurde die alte, sündhafte Eva der 'Nova Eva' (gleich Maria) in geistlichen Streitgespräch gegenüber gestellt, oder, bei fortschreitender Allegorisierung, die 'Nature Humaine' der 'Raison,' die 'Natura' schlechthin der 'Gratia' . . ." *ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

11. Panofsky (*Studies*, p. 152; *Hercules*, pp. 173-186) regards the two women as Ficino's "twin Venuses"—celestial and vulgar. For a summary of conflicting interpretations of Titian's figures see Olga von Gerstfeldt, "Venus und Violante," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, III, 1910, pp. 365-376.

12. *Idem*, *Hercules*, p. 177.

13. *Idem*, *Studies*, p. 155. For a discussion of the various symbolic meanings of nudity in mediaeval moral theology, see *ibid.*, p. 156.

14. *ibid.*, figs. 30, 36, 38.

15. *ibid.*, fig. 46.

The propriety of this symbolism is obvious. Since mediaeval and Renaissance versions of the *Totentanz* frequently illustrate the familiar theme that earthly pleasures must end in death by depicting skeletons amid scenes of worldly delight, it is highly appropriate that the same *memento mori* should accompany the personifications of Flesh and *Voluptas*.¹⁶

In Quarles' emblem, moreover, the figure of Death bears a specific relation to the text from Deuteronomy. It represents the "latter end" which wise men consider and fools ignore at their peril. It serves, therefore, to emphasize the distinction between spiritual wisdom and carnal blindness symbolized by the telescope and the prism. Distracted by the bright colors of her "glasse-Triangular," Flesh is heedless of Death; but Spirit, intent on her "Optick glasse," studiously regards her "latter end":

Sp. I see thy foe, my reconciled friend,
Grim death, even standing at the Glasses end;

16. The association of Death and secular delight occurs also, perhaps, in Titian's allegory. The clothed figure, which Panofsky identifies as the vulgar Venus (Earthly Love), is seated on the edge of a sarcophagus-shaped fountain. Rachel Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "A New Interpretation of Titian's

His left hand holds a branch of Palme; his
right

Holds forth a two-edg'd sword.¹⁷

Flesh and Spirit thus constitute an additional—and comparatively late—link in the iconographical tradition represented by the dialogues of Nature and Reason and of Nature and Grace and by Hercules' choice between Virtue and *Voluptas*. Quarles eschews the Renaissance variation exemplified by Titian and Ripa and adheres to the more common mediaeval tradition of depicting carnal and secular values through the nude figure. He modernizes this convention, however, by incorporating into his emblem two Renaissance optical inventions, the prism and the telescope. In his explanatory dialogue, these, rather than the vestimentary contrast, bear the weight of the symbolic opposition of worldly and heavenly values, the antithesis of Flesh and Spirit.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Sacred and Profane Love," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series VI, vol. XXIII, 1943, p. 90, regards this as the sarcophagus of Adonis.

17. Quarles, *op.cit.*, p. 181.

BOOK REVIEWS

FRIEDRICH MATZ, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst, I, Die geometrische und die früharchaische Form*, Frankfurt on the Main, Klostermann, 1950. I, 538 pp.; II, 34 figs.; 297 pls. D.M. 60.00.

I

No task can be more challenging and rewarding for a student of ancient art than that of writing the history of Greek art. Yet because the tendency to split research vertically into specialized disciplines was perhaps more marked in England and America than on the European continent,¹ no important treatment of the subject has been written in English for some time. By contrast, German scholars and—what is perhaps equally important—German publishers have been ready to exploit the public demand for works of synthesis. Apart from various efforts along the line of factual textbooks, there exist on the one-volume level for the general reader A. von Salis, *Kunst der Griechen* (1919, and later editions, e.g., Zurich, 1953), an ingenious, consciously generalizing presentation of the biological theory of growth, flowering, and decline, and R. Hamann's richly illustrated *Griechische Kunst* (1949) which seeks to establish a somewhat existentialist interpretation of Greek genius by applying the categories of "aesthetic" and "erotic" to the historical changes of Greek artistic vision. On a more comprehensive level, designed to make an appeal to scholars of art as well as to the seriously interested layman, is *Die klassische Kunst* by the late Ludwig Curtius, with its less impressive continuation by W. Zschietzschmann.² As the expression of a scintillatingly dynamic, many-sided, highly literate personality, Curtius' presentation will continue to fascinate by the suggestive power of his interpretations and descriptions rather than by consistent and sustained systematic thought.

It is precisely the methodical and theoretical aspect that looms large in the new work by Friedrich Matz. Designed on an ample scale, with the ultimate prospect of five substantial volumes, this history of Greek art is the most serious effort of our century to develop a theoretical position and to apply it rigorously to the various phases of the evolution of the arts in Greece. To be sure, the author is at some pains to disclaim any intention of presenting more than an exploratory effort designed to open new directions, and he makes a point of emphasizing that he has considered theoretical relations between works of art "only to the extent that they help us to approach the works of art and the men who created them." Nevertheless, the actual execution leaves no doubt of the strong theoretical interest of the author, which manifests itself not only in the chapter devoted to the discussion of some of his concepts but is even more strikingly evident in the analyses of the works of art that constitute the bulk and substance of

the volume. Indeed, the original and creative aspect of the work lies in its effort at systematic penetration and consistent interpretation of early Greek art. Despite certain difficulties, which will be discussed below, many important problems emerge or are seen in a new light. There is some danger that the full significance of the results attained by Matz will not be appreciated. Formulation of the complex art-theoretical issues is a difficult matter; and they are presented by Matz in a way that requires concentration and close attention on the part of the reader. It is the purpose of this review to indicate to some extent the character of his achievement.

Let me remark first on the scope and organization of the book. To judge from its outward appearance, it is intended to be read rather than referred to. The text—not sufficiently broken up for its concentrated content—is uninterrupted, and footnotes are relegated to the end. The latter are terse, yet show a remarkable command of the relevant material. The volume of plates is an impressive achievement. It is difficult to imagine how a better or more comprehensive selection of Geometric, Orientalizing, and Early Archaic art could be given in a book of this kind. References to the text as well as brief references to the most important publications are included in the list of illustrations. Since each illustrated piece is thoroughly commented upon, and the illustrations are large and clear, "Matz" is rapidly becoming one of the most frequently consulted and quoted books in writings dealing with this epoch of Greek art.

As to the text, the first chapter, on "History of Art and Research on Structure," deals with some aspects of the author's theoretical position and some concepts which are relevant to his analysis. Matz states that it was written last, and it retains the nature of a postscript. It is, at any rate, not a methodical exposition of Matz's system. This is developed to a large extent in the first two chapters, on "The Geometric Form" and "The Early Archaic Form," though important extensions, supplements, and modifications occur throughout the book. I may as well state right here that an obstacle to the comprehension of this book arises from the lack of a chapter devoted to a systematic exposition of Matz's theory and terminology. In trying to fulfill his postulate that his system should arrive at its concepts inductively through the analysis of individual works of art, Matz has sacrificed the clarity of construction that can be arrived at only by clear definition of concepts and a precise discussion of the philosophic premises that these concepts entail. It would be an important contribution to our thinking on art and a great convenience to the readers of his *History* if Matz would publish, perhaps as a separate supplement, a clear account of his theoretical premises. I suspect that his

1. Most of the standard accounts of the separate fields—architecture, sculpture, painting—have been written by British and American scholars.

2. *Die klassische Kunst Griechenlands*, Part 2 of *Antike Kunst in Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, 1938.

system lends itself to a deductive presentation that would begin with a discussion of the epistemological premises and then demonstrate their application to the specific area of the history of art with which Matz is concerned. As it is, we are left uncertain whether such categories as "tectonic," "static," and "organic" are capable of application to all art of all times or only to the arts of the ancient world; and we are left with even greater uncertainty about the philosophical affiliations of Matz's "structure" theory on such basic issues as the problem of cognition, the character of history, and the definition of values.

The balance of the book hews more closely to the character of an art history. Early Archaic Sculpture; Early Archaic Painting Outside Athens; The Proto-Attic Vases; Early Archaic Architecture; Minor Arts (*Kunsth Handwerk*) of the Early Archaic Period—these chapters combine selective analysis of individual works of art with a descriptive account of the state of knowledge attained by modern research. Many of these discussions are the only comprehensive syntheses available at present. They abound in acute remarks not only on the formal character but also on the expressive aspect of the works discussed and on the cultural attitudes which these works reflect. It will not be surprising if these interpretative remarks, together with the author's brief but thoughtful analysis of the history and culture of the Early Archaic period (pp. 128-149), prove to be the ones most attractive to the general reader. On the other hand, the careful elaboration of formal analysis is of great advantage to the student of art history (as distinct from specialist in classical art). Writings on Greek art have often slighted this phase of research, which yet is one that all but the most experienced scholars require for real penetration into the quality of a work of art.

II

1. The avowed ultimate purpose of Matz is to arrive at an understanding of the world-view of the different epochs, races, regions, schools, and individual artists. His method, he maintains, is both inductive and deductive. The general categories are gained out of concrete experience and analysis of the individual work of art. Conversely, the insight into the individual work of art gains, when it is apprehended under the large perspectives gained from the application of general categories.

These postulates are an attempt to meet the demand of Croce and his followers that a work of art or the personality of a master must be appreciated in its unique configuration; they are also intended as an answer to the insistence of the "historicist" school that art history must proceed inductively from the investigation of individual phenomena.

2. The general philosophical position of Matz is not made explicit but must be gathered from various comments and quotations. Since he cites Plato, Aristotle,

3. Matz acknowledges a debt to E. Buschor, whose writings seem to revolve around this problem, but in a decidedly veiled manner and with some sort of a biological theory of develop-

Kant, and Dilthey, it may be presumed to be idealistic. Thus he applies to his concept of "structure" Schiller's description of nature as "an idea which never comes into the senses. It lies under the cover of the phenomena but never manifests itself (as a phenomenon)," and he accepts Kant's definition of space as a form of *innere Anschauung*. On the other hand, in his analyses of Greek art Matz elaborates Brunn's materialistic notions that style arises out of material and that (in the case of tectonic style) "form follows function." With similar inconsistency, he accepts the crudely materialistic notion of art constants, which are biologically conditioned—"blutbedingt, blutmässig bedingt."

3. The author is also influenced by existentialist philosophy (Heidegger). Indeed, one may ask whether he would not have been better off, had he conceived the history of art with Sir Herbert Read as "the conquest by art of the different spheres of existence." For this is obviously the implication of his discussion of the first two phases of Greek art.³

4. The problem of absolute and relative values of art generally, and of the "normative" character of Greek art specifically, is posed by Matz's declaration that he hopes for a resumption of the idealistic line of German Classicism. There is no discussion whatever of what "values" are in a work of art and how aesthetic values are related to cultural values. Nor is the problem of quality of a work of art considered.⁴ On the specific question of whether Greek art embodies absolute values for all humanity, some light is thrown by Matz's statement that he writes in order to contribute to the solution of the spiritual and intellectual crisis of our time. This hints at a position that is "relativistic." The author conceives of his system as an attempt at partial cognition valid for the Western world and as a time-conditioned contribution to the dialectic and dynamic process of the development of culture.

5. There is an implication that Matz's categories of analysis of art cannot, therefore, be extended to the analysis of art cycles that were not connected with the Mediterranean development. This matter, too, would require elucidation. For the author does apply his categories of "tectonic" and "static" to prehistoric Europe, ancient Egypt, and ancient Near East; but it remains uncertain whether they are applicable to Central Asia and the Far East on one hand and to later phases of European art on the other.

6. This ambiguity is connected with a larger problem. Are "tectonic" and "static" "ideas" in the Platonic sense which any concrete art can only approximate or are they abstractions from actual, concrete historical arts? If they are "ideas" then it is legitimate to conceive of the various arts as approximating these categories in varying degrees of quantity and quality. If, however, as Matz seems to maintain, they are gained empirically, by abstracting them from their embodiments in historical arts, then it is surely arbitrary to

ment as a base.

4. Matz speaks of *Volkskunst* as something below the level of art.

constitute them as categories valid for the analyses of all arts.

III

According to Matz, the transition between his ultimate aim—recognition of the various world-views or attitudes toward existence—and the realm of the concrete works of art can be made by employing the concept of structure and by making use within this concept of the sub-concept of "Space" in a very special sense.⁵

"Structure" to Matz embraces all significant relations of form and content in a work of art or in larger groupings of works of art (oeuvre, school, region, nation, race, period). He emphasizes that his structure differs from the "stylistic" form⁶ of strict formalism, which is concerned only with the visible, external aspect of a work of art and may be studied without regard to meaning, expressive values, and emotional connotations. The interplay of significant relations is dynamic, i.e., it varies from work to work, phase to phase; and it is "dialectic" in that these changes will be found to conform to laws of historical development. Apparently the two major forces in this dialectic development are "Freedom," subsequently associated with vitality and with the expressive, creative urge that tends to disrupt the discipline of form in art; and "Necessity" which seems to have two different components, (a) "Constants," such as heredity, environment, cultural patterns and traditions, which set definite limits to free creativity; (b) "Law," which is equated with the discipline imposed by a definite formal system, by a consistent and coherent art style.⁷

How the dialectic process between "Necessity" and "Freedom" is carried out in the historical development is not spelled out; it remains uncertain whether it follows the Hegelian method of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

Since Matz seems to assume that the interplay or configuration of the different aspects constitutes the uniqueness of a work of art, his "structure" approaches the concept of *Gestalt* now made familiar by its application to personality, group, culture, and epoch. However, he makes no clear statement on the crucial point—whether the sum of relations and aspects in a work of art has a unique pattern distinct and "superior" to the total of the parts.

From these premises, an art theory might be developed in many different ways. The special solution proposed by Matz is heavily weighted toward formalism and seems to me to involve him in considerable epistemological and semantic difficulties.

Following L. Coellen, Matz postulates that "Space" (I capitalize advisedly) constitutes a crucial touchstone for the attitudes of artists, epochs, races toward "ex-

istence." By their response to "Space" they reveal their structures, their "inner life," and their essence. "Space" is not "space"—the experienced three-dimensionality, but "something more general, the medium in which phenomena manifest themselves." Indeed, there is a suggestion that it is also the medium of which the phenomena are constituted. In pre-Einsteinian manner, "Space" is, however, distinct from time. And, almost inevitably for a German thinker, "Space" is also the nonconcrete "*Existenzraum*" presumably of the intellectual and spiritual rather than sensible phenomena, being a function of "*innere Anschauung*."

If I understand him correctly, Matz argues that by analyzing the symbolized space of the works of art, we apprehend the attitudes of human beings toward his hypostasized "Space." This enables us to proceed directly from formal analysis to the interpretation of "inner" attitudes in art and link them directly to significant attitudes of the various cultures or cultural phases.

Thus Matz ends up with at least five different things linked by the verbal term "*Raum*." 1) "World" (matter?) as a medium of any sensible phenomenon. 2) Space in the most general sense of *topos, locus*—distinct from concrete phenomena? 3) The empiric space experienced by human beings, not necessarily identical with 2. (This is not, as Matz supposes, the quantitative space developed by Newtonian science, particularly since Matz says that it has objective existence.) 4) Space as a "*Form der inneren Anschauung*." (This is an idealistic tenet which applies as much to primitive as to modern science, but, if logically applied, this premise rules out any objective existence of space. As Matz says, it can be construed as being a function of *Lebens und Weltgefühl*. Any spatial concept of science would come under this head.) 5) Symbols developed to denote or represent in art the concrete experience of three-dimensionality.

Apart from the philosophic question—whether space is a category of mind or has objective existence—I cannot help feeling (with E. Langlotz) that *geistiger Raum* and *Körperraum* are two different things. As it is, Matz glides from "Space" in the sense of milieu, environment, cultural atmosphere or attitude to "space" in the sense of a concrete phenomenon accessible to senses. I do not believe that the identification of all these concepts is substantial, nor does it seem to me to help to clarify the difficult question of how a work of art may be interpreted as an expression of world view.

Matz has boldly thrown his slender bridge of "Space" across a large area in the interpretation of works of art. His own excellent remarks on motif, iconography, expressive and emotional content have no methodical

5. Cf. A. Neumeyer, *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVII, 1955, p. 303, on W. Schöne's use of light as "symbolizing the entire range of human awareness." Matz quotes as his forerunners the Vienna School, especially H. Sedlmayr, L. Coellen among the writers on aesthetics; and B. Schweitzer, Gerhard Krahmer, Valentin Müller, and G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg among the classical archaeologists.

6. In view of this rejection of "form" as a comprehensive

term, the author should have spoken of "Geometric structure" and "Early Archaic structure" not "*Geometrische Form*" and "*Früharchaische Form*" in his chapter headings.

7. I think Matz is also associating "freedom" with direct imitation of nature, with the element that in my system would appear under the term "empiric observation"; and "law" with that aspect which is commonly termed stylization and which in my terminology would be called "preconceived design."

place in his own system. Yet much systematic work has been done on these aspects and they need categories of their own. I believe that just as natural science consciously isolates the different aspects of natural phenomena in order to investigate their specific problems, so in the study of art we may study form, motif, iconography, emotional and expressive patterns—by themselves as well as in relation to “reality” and in relation to other works of art first—and then apprehend the totality of their relationships.⁸

IV

In the actual application of Matz's theory to the history of Early Greek art the principal role is assigned not to the dialectic of “Freedom” and “Necessity” but to a more concrete and complex dialectic of “tectonic” and “static” principles, which are in turn modified by “organic” and “dynamic” factors. Here again the lack of explicit definitions impedes understanding. “Organic” has no certain place in the system and “dynamic” appears at times as a constituent element of the “tectonic” concept but at other times seems to be conceived as an independent factor or as part of “organic” influences.⁹

According to Matz the Geometric period was dominated by the “tectonic” principle. In the Orientalizing period there ensued the reception of “static” systems resulting in a phase of “un-balance.” The picture he paints is one of struggle among the “tectonic,” “static,” and actually also the “organic” and expressionistic or vitalistic elements. Different artists and different works of art emphasize one or the other of these elements until a new synthesis is found and the Early Archaic Form, a “tectonically modified static form,” emerges in the great works of monumental character—in the first monumental statues and in the narrative figure style in painting.

The novelty of Matz's approach lies in his particular formulation of “tectonic” and “static” as fundamental categories in the analysis of art. As such they require careful consideration. Since this consideration must at times be critical, let me emphasize at the outset that many of the obscurities and apparent contradictions result from Matz's determined attempt to derive “tectonic” and “static” from actual works of art. Time and again I have found that something meaningful and important in the actual works of art is responsible for apparent inconsistencies in the formulation of the concepts.

8. H. Wölfflin (*Italian Renaissance*) had already shown that motif and expressive contents are capable of analysis; the recent controversy on relation of formal and iconological factors in a work of art is also to the point.

9. The trouble arises from the fact that imitation of sense reality, the so-called imitation of nature, is not given methodical recognition as a force *sui generis*, as it was given by L. Curtius (*op.cit.*, p. 65) in his contrast of “tectonic” style and “living form.”

10. “Structure” and “structural” are pretty much synonymous with “tectonic,” another difficulty for the innocent reader, even though it is clear that for Matz “structure” is the genus of which “tectonic” is a species.

11. “Ueber tektonischen Stil in der griechischen Malerei und Plastik,” *Kleine Schriften*, ed. by H. Bulle and Hermann Brunn, 1905, II, pp. 99-141.

To take the linguistic and semantic difficulties first: “tectonic” means “pertaining to a builder” and in a more extended sense to a building.¹⁰ Among the terms used by Matz its opposite by common usage is “organic.” Similarly, in common acceptance the opposite of “static” is “dynamic.” Yet this is by no means the relation that emerges. “Tectonic” is opposed to “static” and is distinguished from it, among other things, by presence of dynamic elements.

In order to understand Matz's use of the term, we must realize that he seeks to reinterpret and reshape Heinrich Brunn's pioneering essay on “Tectonic Style in Greek Art.”¹¹ Brunn's very curious effort abounds in inconsistencies, as he ends up with a concept of “tectonic” that is different from the one with which he began; but it is based on a valuable intuition—that Greek art manifests a kind of formal organization which is related to that of a building in having an affinity to a system of verticals and horizontals and in displaying a relation of dynamic forces that is not based on direct transcription of movement in nature. Fundamentally, it is this same intuition that Matz seeks to articulate from the new points of vantage attained by history of art. There is, however, one very essential difference. From his position of naïve naturalism, Brunn could with perfect logic interpret the entire course of Greek art as an interplay of “tectonic” design and imitation of nature. Matz must: a) reconcile this materialistically derived system with his idealistic interpretation of art; b) adjust the “vertical” category of “tectonic” to his “horizontal” analysis which proceeds by periods; c) transform Brunn's very general notion of “tectonic” into something much more specific which he can contrast with his concept of “static.” The great difficulty is to make “tectonic” work both horizontally and vertically.

For this “tectonic system” of Matz is not abstracted from Greek art generally, nor even from Greek Geometric art as a whole, but from a particular development in Attic vase painting of the Early and Middle Geometric phase. “Static,” on the other hand, according to an oral explanation of the author, is best exemplified in Egyptian art as an entity; while “the principle of organic growth” is a property of Minoan art for at least two of its major phases and possibly throughout its course. I cannot help feeling that in the course of the book Matz's “tectonic” system undergoes a

Brunn based his essay on a dualism between “tectonic” art and naturalistic observation. “Tectonic” is associated with “decorative,” “stylized” and is, in fact, very nearly “design”; in a “tectonic” work design dominates over observed elements transcribed from life. He believed, however, that design is inherent in the materials and that there is a “wood style,” “stone style,” and so forth. In this materialistic aspect of his doctrine (continuing the Ruskinian line of “truth” to the material) and in his idea that in the next step design resulted from following the form of the object (“form follows function”) Brunn runs very nearly parallel with the early pioneers of modern architecture. He complicated his interpretation by trying to fit into this system Michelangelo's famous distinction between sculpture attained by “cutting-in” and sculpture attained by “building up.” This, too, is echoed by Matz.

change from a special concept which fits Greek Geometric to a more general one where the emphasis is on elements (dynamism, tensions) more appropriate to "Greek refinements" of Classic temples.

What then is "tectonic"? It is characterized by the following traits. 1) It is an intuition of a world "law" which is equally manifest in the large world (macrocosm) and in an individual phenomenon (microcosm). Indeed, Matz says that the discovery of a work of art as a microcosm is the great achievement of Geometric art.

2) The tectonic system is "objective" in its attitude toward existence. Here apparently three thoughts are involved: a) The Geometric artist assumes that each object will reveal its own pattern, which will turn out to be identical with the general pattern of world order. b) There is no distance or differentiation by which the artist dissociates himself from his work. He does not comment or reflect on the world but accepts all kinds of being. On this basis Matz compares the objectivity of Geometric art with the famous objectivity of Homer. c) The work of art as such has no special kind of existence; the aesthetic phenomenon is not conceived as being something separate from other kinds of existence. Consequently the problem of taking into account a spectator does not arise in any form.¹²

3) In the tectonic system the whole is built up of clearly articulated units. A strict distinction is made between verticals and horizontals as symbols of weight and of upward force. The organization is "discursive." Here the usual definition is that Geometric art is coordinating and additive; Matz seems to follow that for a while, but later (pp. 219f.) he makes a very interesting remark: "In the Geometric syntax the propensity to add and coordinate is *not* the significant trait; what is significant is the use of many small parts of similar value. Fundamentally, the composition is a rhythmic *Aneinanderreihung* arranged with the aid of simple *Zahlenverhältnisse*." Elsewhere, he emphasizes that Geometric art is not based on geometric proportion of the kind used in Egypt and later in archaic Greece. But he fails to draw the conclusion. There is only one way of describing an art system which is using "relations of numbers" without using a *geometric* system of proportion, i.e. a system based on relations of *areas* or solids. Such an art is *arithmetic*. Surprising as it may seem, Geometric art of Greek vase painting is not geometric in the exact sense. The distinction of the "geometric" and "arithmetic" or "algebraic" way of solving problems is, of course, an established one in mathematics.¹³ It is this abstract foundation of Geometric art that causes so much difficulty to Matz. Had he recognized clearly that relation of abstract numbers is not the same thing as relation of geometric areas, he would have had a much easier time in showing why the "static" system, which is based on solid geometry,

is different from the "tectonic" system. As it is, the reader expects that the "tectonic" system should be based on plane geometry, which Matz refuses to concede. H. Payne spoke of the tyranny of compass and ruler in Greek Geometric art. In truth, the artists use the tools of geometry but constitute their *system* on an arithmetical basis.

4) This abstract character of Geometric art also explains the equivocations in which Matz involves himself when it comes to the question of space. He asserts that Geometric art negates space, that it is not concerned with space, that its attribute is "spacelessness." This, of course, is not to be understood literally. Matz cites Geometric tripods as perfect embodiments of "tectonic" system and has an interesting discussion of what happens to the space that unavoidably appears in Geometric architecture. Briefly, it is not fashioned according to the "Geometric" system. The real reason for the conflicts and contrasts that Matz quite properly sees when the Geometric style has to deal with three-dimensional shapes, as in vases and buildings, lies in the fact that Geometric artists have worked out only one way of translating their arithmetical approach into concrete works of art—something like enumerating two-dimensional units of different sizes in arithmetical progression. With that you can cover a surface but you cannot get any composition of space or volume.

Matz is aware of that and makes a number of keen observations on this problem. What happens is that Geometric artists put their surface designs on three-dimensional objects as if they were laying carpets and tapestries around, for instance, the foot, body, neck, and lip of a vase. If the Geometric house and temple models are to be trusted, the same principle of decoration obtained in Geometric architecture—in the models from Perachora a broad strip of maeander is carried around the walls at mid-height. Inasmuch as you nail these "tapestries" on the surface horizontally or vertically, you imply that there are horizontal or vertical parts underneath. But this matter of relating the surface system to the three-dimensional objects underneath—to the clay rings of a vase, the feet of a bronze tripod, the wooden framework of a building—is never thought out clearly in terms of weight and support. In vase painting the relation of the horizontal strips and vertical panels (metopes) to the main structural parts of the vase is at times fairly close, but at other times the purely "arithmetical," enumerative character of decoration quite obscures the existence of any major structural divisions; for instance, in the Linear Corinthian and Argive styles, almost the entire vase is covered with horizontal lines of equal thickness. This bias in favor of a homogeneous decorative surface makes Matz's "tectonic" nearly the opposite of structural; for in a structural system, the primary task of ornament

12. Matz makes the interesting suggestion that Minoan art was predicated on an "empathic" association of the spectator with its pattern of organic growth—i.e., the spectator is envisaged as going through a sympathetic experience of life and

motion of things, whether expressed through actual living beings or abstract patterns. This attitude he terms "subjective."

13. Cf. the remarks by B. L. Van der Waerden, *Science Awakening*, 1954, on Greek mathematics.

would be to show the exact function of the forces of weight and support in any art object or building.

5) The unpleasant fact is that Geometric vases have some sort of composition as volumes but this composition is not based on the same premises as the system of surface decoration. This causes a good deal of trouble to Matz and is responsible, I suppose, for his revival of Brunn's idea that "tectonic" forms are developed out of the utilitarian function of the objects. This assumption is no truer of Greek Geometric vases and tripods than of most other artifacts of antiquity. As it is, Matz wavers between the materialistic theory of "natural growth," in which the character of the Geometric buildings is conditioned by the simple materials which were used by their builders, and an Aristotelian teleology, in which Geometric bronze workers come very near to creating an entelechy of a tripod.

6) Matz tries another explanation which is more in keeping with his system. He emphasizes that his "tectonic" system has "immanent" dynamic components. The curving volumes of Greek vases would come under this heading, I suppose, but beyond that Matz uses "tectonic" to designate any effect of tension or implication of movement—as in the contrast of the precise rhythm in Protogeometric ornament with the loose halting rhythm of Sub-Mycenaean decoration. When we then learn that the corridor-like directive quality of Early Archaic Greek temples is due to the survival of "tectonic" attitudes, and that, indeed, almost any quality suggesting tension or motion in Early Archaic art is "tectonic," we begin to wonder what exactly these dynamic elements of the "tectonic" style are conceived to be. The best I can do is to suggest that in Matz's theory any kind of abstract motion that is not derived from observation of "organic" nature is "tectonic," at least in Greek art.

In ending this discussion of the "tectonic" and of its derivation from Greek Geometric style, I should like to set down what seems to me the essence and the great achievement of Greek Geometric art and one that Matz circumscribes but does not quite enunciate. For the first time in history the world is apprehended as being essentially an *abstract* order based on number. Partial apprehensions of this sort occurred before in many cultures, often, perhaps always, with symbolic-religious connotations,¹⁴ but no other culture has given this intuition such a coherent development as a *system*. There is nothing to indicate that the Greek Geometric system was intended as religious symbolism.¹⁵ I can see in it no less than the first great scientific analysis of the world, the first great theory proposed by the Greeks. In its dissociation from religion, it initiates the distinction between art and religion, between the aesthetic and the religious attitudes toward life. In its concentration on form and order and its elimination of the sense-

perceived world, it foreshadows the later idealism of Greek philosophy. Finally, it is an expression of a mathematical attitude, an intuitive projection in the medium of visual art of qualities subsequently developed in verbal, numeral, and geometric terms in Greek mathematics.

"Static" emerges gradually during Matz's discussion of Archaic Form. It seems to comprise the following constituents:

1. It seeks to express perpetual, permanent existence. Unlike "tectonic" it seeks to *present* phenomena of the outside world.
2. Upon these shapes derived from observation it bestows an "existential" character. They do not *represent* their original models in nature in our sense but are conceived as having an essential, "magic" life of their own in accordance with their sacral purposes. The artist must take distance from his work; once completed, it leads a life of its own. Since art is capable of creating this special kind of life, it is, by implication, recognized as being a special phenomenon, but its aesthetic aspect is not acknowledged as being decisive.
3. The "static" system is concerned with three-dimensional solids, with "stereometric cubism" and is based on "Euclidean geometry." Matz implies that these solids are by nature inert and unorganized and that their shaping produces a conflict of mind and matter.

The reference to "Euclidean geometry" is an unhappy one; it is anachronistic and reveals ignorance of the state of geometry in Egypt and Babylonia. What Matz means is that "static" art is concerned with *measuring* three-dimensional solids on a system of agreed surface units ("grid").

Like "tectonic," "static" works of art are additive and follow a system of verticals and horizontals. Unlike "tectonic"—and here again Matz is not sufficiently explicit—"static" works of art are based on the use of geometric proportions.¹⁶ His discussion of *Dimensionalisierung* is clearly along this line.

4. The "static" "Space" "guarantees the unity of life of phenomena. It delimits the objects but does not connect them." They coexist as an aggregate, are not directly related to each other. This space is therefore "heteronomous."

This seems to be a corollary of 3. The artist starts by shaping the solids. Because the solids are measured in a uniform system of measurement there tends to result for the space between and among them the assumption that it conforms to the same measurements—hence the "unity."

To Matz the term "heterogeneous" implies that in "static" art visual elements derived from sense reality and elements resulting from geometric intuition are treated as being of the same kind and order. At any

"Geometric" effect.

16. Egyptian proportions are the result of the use of one or more grids, which are based on area units—i.e., squares. In three-dimensional shapes such units are cubes—if the same grid is applied to all sides of the stone block.

14. I have in mind the possible symbolic meaning of various geometric styles rather than the explicit symbolism of Three, Seven, etc.

15. On vases, elements most likely to have religious significance, like snakes and horses, are usually added as plastic shapes which are actually detrimental to the purity of the

rate, when applied to painting and drawing, the unity of two-dimensional plane is preserved and the third dimension is symbolized by placing its component somewhere in the two-dimensional design.¹⁷

5. On the problem of motion and "dynamic" factors Matz is less explicit, but one gathers that in its pure form "static" art is completely devoid of dynamism, which can result only accidentally from the depiction of things known to be moving in "real life."

I have tried to work out the "tectonic" and "static" principles in greater distinction than they present themselves in Matz and I have forborne to enumerate the instances where contradictory statements are to be found.¹⁸ The two principles overlap in some important points, and as I have pointed out, the term "tectonic" is confusing because it means "anti-structural" or at least "not concerned with three-dimensional structure" when applied to Greek Geometric system and because the author extends it in an unjustifiable fashion.

Nevertheless, I believe that Matz is quite right in trying to substitute something more substantial for the superficial dualism of "stylized" and "realistic" that sees the entire course of Greek art as an elementary school course in anatomy. It is also true, I believe, that Geometric art system exemplifies only one interpretation of existence, whereas the Orientalizing and Early Archaic art is characterized by conflict and adjustment of various forces, one representing the Geometric tradition, the other the attitudes of Near East and Egypt—all of them being modified by empiric observations which result from the decision of the Greek artists to embark upon the conquest of the sense-perceived world ("reality").

As I see it, the merit of Matz lies in his desire to find consistent and comprehensive formulations for two of these forces. However critical one may be of his "tectonic" and "static," his attempt to detect the exact formal equivalents for these attitudes stimulates new thoughts. Where his system seems to me to fail is on the third aspect, on the relation of Greek art to "reality." Because he approaches the problem of "reality" from a formal point of view, he cannot do it justice. It is my belief that we have to start with a study of the attitude toward reality as manifested in all cultural media and then seek to determine which aspects of this attitude are manifested in visual arts, on the assumption that

there is a divergence possible and that some characteristics will be found in verbal (literary, intellectual) and others in visual media. I also believe that the old distinction of form and content is methodically useful for history of art and history of thought, that ideology and emotional and rational elements need to be investigated as much as the artistic form.

I have dwelt in this review on the general aspect of Matz's book as being of interest to historians of art. As to more specific questions of Greek art history, Matz is well-informed and sensible in his judgment; my comments would often amount to a difference of emphasis rather than a disagreement of principle. No discovery sufficiently startling has occurred to make any of Matz's views on major issues untenable.¹⁹ Evidence is accumulating, however, that in the great deed of Early Archaic art—the creation of the humanistic ideal in sculpture and the concurrent formulation of the Greek monumental temple—Argos and the Argolid rather than Corinth were the focal point.

Thus in architecture, the Heraeum of Argos had not only a monumental stone terrace of Late Geometric date but apparently also the earliest peripteral temple with stone columns in the Peloponnese.²⁰ In sculpture, the finest expressions of Daedalic style in the medium of relief are the fragments of architectural reliefs from Mycenae and the admirable terracotta plaque of a god of vegetation.²¹ Ancient tradition also assigns to Argos the creation of the monumental bronze cauldrons adorned with griffins' heads, which were regarded as one of the best offerings a seventh-century Greek might make to a god.²² Even in painting, where hitherto Argive vases gave no impression of any great originality, the recent find of a remarkably pictorial, "Proto-Daedalic" portrayal of the Blinding of Polyphemos has shown that Argive painters actively participated in the advance toward the monumental figure style.²³ I do not see that this advance was quite so much the work of Peloponnesian artists as Matz does. It is true that the Eastern Peloponnese seems to have formulated the purest version of the "Daedalic style"—there is a kind of creative "axis" along the roads which link with Argos, Sikyon, Corinth in easy communication. In the making of monumental sculpture in marble, however, the Cyclades (Naxos) still have the best claim. Crete had an early creative encounter with Near

17. Theoretically, this formula would apply just as much to the rendering of the figures in Matz's "tectonic" Geometric designs. The real difference is that "static" arts developed definite ways of analyzing the third dimension and fitting it into a grid, as in the map-like representations of Egyptian and Akkadian art, where plan and front view are combined, or in the combination of elements of frontal and profile views in Egyptian drawings and reliefs.

18. For instance, Egyptian art, almost the "static" art *per definitionem*, is "absolutely static" in one passage yet displays "tectonics" in another.

19. Some interesting material has been found at Old Smyrna but I believe that when it is published in definitive form it will tend to show that Eastern Greece was until the sixth century an exotic Asiatic area whose influence upon the main course of Greek art did not become strong until the developed Archaic period. For a preliminary summary cf. "Ionia, Leader

or Follower," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LXI, 1953, pp. 1ff.

20. P. Amandry, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 223ff., 273ff. Cf. the early Doric Capital from Tiryns, *Tiryns*, I, p. 7, fig. 6.

21. Matz, figs. 87, 88, 92.

22. Cf. my forthcoming review of U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel*, in *Gnomon*. For the imitations in terracotta found at Argos and Mycenae, cf. J. L. Caskey, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 200, nos. 243-245, pl. 56. The extraordinary, life-size masks from Tiryns (Matz, fig. 57 b), must be accounted Argive; for the later phase, cf. the bronze kouros, Amandry, *op.cit.*, pp. 178f., pl. 45.

23. P. Courbin, *BCH*, LXXIX, 1955, pp. 1ff. *AJA*, LXI, 1957, p. 72, fig. 2. Just as in sculpture the terracotta masks from Tiryns represent an early venture of the experimental Orientalizing phase, so in painting the large shields from Tiryns, Courbin, *loc.cit.*, pp. 23f., fig. 14.

Eastern artists and Near Eastern art (new finds, D. Levi, *Bollettino d'Arte*, III, 1956, pp. 270f., esp. fig. 58). How much influence we are willing to concede to this episode is a controversial matter, but I think the possibility that Cretan artists traveled to the mainland must be given some weight. During the seventh century there was a shift in the social habits of artists. Anonymous workshops serving largely local needs were the rule during the Geometric period. Now the artist emerges as a personality (hence the earliest signatures), as a master with assistants who travels to execute orders. The interplay of local traditions and personal styles is intensified and the great achievements are produced at places where a new type of patron (tyrants) assembles artists of diverse origins.

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN
Harvard University

D. S. RICE, *The Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library*, Dublin, Emery Walker Ltd., 1955. Pp. 36; 16 pls.

After the *Baptistère de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1953) Dr. D. S. Rice, of the University of London, brought out another luxuriously edited study of a monument of Islamic art. But, this time, instead of dealing with metalwork, our knowledge of which he has improved so considerably, Dr. Rice turned to the field which, by all accounts, is the most characteristic of Islamic art and which was considered by far the most praiseworthy by the Muslims themselves: calligraphy and illumination. The very fact that calligraphy and illumination were so highly regarded by the mediaeval Muslims leads to numerous difficulties for the scholar and art historian, especially in dealing with the first six centuries of Islam. Our documentation is twofold. First we have lists of scripts and calligraphers with descriptions of the main characteristics of each script and each artist; in the early period the best known of such lists is that of Ibn al-Nadīm. Second, we have remaining fragments, only a few of which are dated or bear a colophon with a name. A large number of these fragments have been published by B. Moritz, *Arabic Paleography*, Cairo, 1905 (plates only), and in various articles by Moritz and other scholars, but without any systematic attempt at determining which type of writing corresponded to the known lists of scripts and whether any specific name can be connected with a specific script. The problem is further complicated by the fact that in mediaeval times certain scripts and certain calligraphers were so highly praised that counterfeiting was common practice. Fakes are still made today and, since our stylistic and palaeographic criteria for dating are still uncertain, they are not always easy to detect. The major task thus facing the student of Arabic calligraphy is the gathering of sufficient evidence to permit, finally, a detailed analysis of the evolution of the Arabic script in all its forms and to relate it to the information provided for us by the mediaeval writers

on the subject. But this task can only be accomplished through the collation of texts dealing with calligraphy and through the publication of those remaining fragments or whole manuscripts that can be securely dated and, if at all possible, assigned to specific calligraphers or calligraphic schools. For the first two centuries of Islam, as Dr. Rice writes in his introduction, considerable progress has been made in recent years with regard to the evolution of the so-called Kufic script in Koran manuscripts, thanks especially to the works of B. Moritz, N. Abbott, O. Pretzl, and A. Grohmann. But, while the general evolution of the script is fairly well established, we are still very unclear with respect to exact datings, localizations of schools, and attributions.

Dr. Rice has attempted to fill a gap in our knowledge by devoting a whole monograph to one of the most extraordinary remaining Islamic manuscripts. The Koran numbered K. 16 in the Chester Beatty Collection has many distinctions. It is dated 391 A.H./A.D. 1000-1001. It is the earliest surviving Koran in *naskhi*, the cursive script that, although in existence since the beginning of Arabic writing, was only then replacing the lapidary script wrongly called Kufic in Korans. It is signed by 'Alī ibn Hilāl, known as Ibn al-Bawwāb, the most illustrious Arab calligrapher before the thirteenth century. Finally it is the earliest fully illuminated Arabic manuscript discovered so far.

In a first chapter the author relates all that is known about Ibn al-Bawwāb and his contribution to penmanship. As is usual in the case of mediaeval Arab artists, tantalizingly little is known about his life. Ibn al-Bawwāb started apparently as a house decorator, then went into illuminating books before taking to calligraphy. It is interesting to note that one of the first things he was asked to do was the faking of an older hand. His reputation grew rapidly, and he remained for many centuries the creator of some of the most sought-after collectors' items. Through written sources we know that his essential contribution to calligraphy was the introduction of an artistic and decorative element into the purely mechanical system of proportions known as *khatt al-mansūb* ("proportioned writing") introduced some seventy years earlier by the great Ibn Muqlah.

The second chapter is devoted to a description of the manuscript. The style of writing is defined "as a *naskhi* script influenced by 'proportioned writing'" (p. 12), and its components are examined in detail. Dr. Rice also shows that the whole manuscript was definitely the work of one person and that it is almost certain that the calligrapher was also the illuminator. The chapter closes with a description of the ornaments: full-page ornaments, marginal designs indicating certain breaks in the text, and ornamental bands at the beginning of a number of chapters. The remarkable inventiveness of a Muslim artist who can do 114 palmette designs, of which no two are exactly alike, is beautifully apparent here.

The third chapter is perhaps the most important of the book. In it the author discusses other manuscripts, most of which are so far unpublished or little known,

attributed to Ibn al-Bawwāb. All of them are shown to be forgeries perpetrated in the Middle Ages, sometimes as early as the middle of the eleventh century. In the discussion—and herein lies one of the principal merits of this chapter—Dr. Rice introduces a number of other unpublished or little known manuscripts, mostly from Turkish collections in Istanbul, often accompanied with photographs. He suggests several datings and shows that a group of early eleventh century manuscripts, one of which had been attributed to Ibn al-Bawwāb, should be placed in eastern Persia. These pages illustrate not only how little we knew about Arabic manuscripts of that period, but also how much one can learn by perusing properly many western and especially oriental collections.

The fourth and last chapter is devoted to an analysis of the illuminations and to an attempt to show in what ways they agree with what is known of contemporary art. They are compared with Byzantine, Armenian, and a few Arabic book illuminations, with the paintings of Nishapur, and with the textiles and other minor arts objects that are generally assigned to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The author points out that in its illuminations, just as in its calligraphy, the manuscript presents a number of innovations, such as the "three-dimensional scroll" (i.e. the winding scrolls in which leaves curl over the stems) and "graduated tinting," both of which were generally considered to be later (p. 35). While perhaps not as delicate and precious as some later Mamluk or Persian illuminations, the pages of this manuscript have a linear ruggedness and sobriety, with here and there the simple blossoming of a vegetal motive, which are quite impressive and not without counterpart in the contemporary decoration of Western Europe. From the point of view of the history of Islamic art these illuminations are extremely important since they are one more document in the growing list of Buwayhid art, that is, of the art of Iraq and western Persia which preceded the *épanouissement* of Islamic art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries under the Seljuqs. The only criticism of detail one might bring against this chapter is that the author may not have used ceramic evidence with sufficient emphasis in his discussion of decorative motives (note 7 on p. 34, seems to be the only reference to pottery), although many of the "roundels" on pl. ix bear a remarkable similarity to the pottery of Samarra and Nishapur.

This brief summary, which hardly does justice to the great mass of new factual information and ideas found in this study, indicates the two fields to which this publication is an important contribution. The first is palaeography, for an essential problem is that of the authenticity of the manuscript, since on it will depend all future discussions of the different styles of Arabic script. Can one believe the date and authorship given by the colophon? The question is all the more legitimate since Dr. Rice has quite convincingly disproved the attribution to Ibn al-Bawwāb of all the other known manuscripts which bear his name. A signature, therefore, appears to be one of the least reliable means of attributing a manuscript, and it is to the internal evidence pro-

vided by the text and illuminations that we must turn. Dr. Rice mentions six major arguments for accepting the indications of the colophon (p. 29 and *passim*): 1) the format, paper, and ink correspond to what we know for the period. 2) We know from texts that Ibn al-Bawwāb perfected the *khatt al-mansūb* of Ibn Muqlah; K. 16 shows a script obviously derived from a mathematically proportioned, decorative script quite in accordance with what Ibn al-Bawwāb is said to have done. 3) Ibn al-Bawwāb is known from texts to have favored a *calamus* whose nib was cut straight and, hence, his letters are even throughout; this is a dominant feature of the manuscript. 4) The colophon is in the same ink as the text of the Koran and in the same script; it was obviously done by the same person. 5) The illuminations agree with what is known of the art of the period and the "innovations" could well be attributed to Ibn al-Bawwāb, who was known as an illuminator. 6) The superior quality of the manuscript would argue for its having been written by one of the great calligraphers of the time. It seems to the reviewer that the main conclusion which can be safely deduced from these arguments is that this is a genuine manuscript of the late tenth or early eleventh century. The second and third arguments are based on comparisons of the script with textual references, but the textual references are not really precise. It is unlikely that Ibn al-Bawwāb was the only calligrapher to use a pen with a straight nib and the nature of Ibn al-Bawwāb's "softening" of the *khatt al-mansūb* is not specified by literary sources (see p. 7). We know, on the other hand (*ibid.*), that he had many imitators, some of whom may not have made the obvious mistakes which disqualified the other manuscripts attributed to him. All this, of course, does not mean that Chester Beatty K. 16 is *not* by Ibn al-Bawwāb. It simply suggests that unless we find either a text describing in great detail the characteristics of Ibn al-Bawwāb's writing or a sufficient number of manuscripts or pages that could all conceivably be by Ibn al-Bawwāb's hand, there will be no absolute certitude as to the illuminator and writer of K. 16. While this manuscript may not solve the problem of Ibn al-Bawwāb, its certain authenticity makes it an extremely valuable document for the evolution of the script, and, together with the Ibn Jandal manuscript published by Dr. Rice in the same book, it provides us with a good standard of eleventh century writing.

The second field to which the publication of this manuscript is of great significance is art history. As a monument of the comparatively little known Buwayhid period it deserves a great deal of attention. There is little to add to the comments made by Dr. Rice. One might emphasize here two points made by the author which are of considerable importance to an understanding of Islamic art. The first one is the remarkable relationship between the designs on these illuminations and bookbindings, which makes this manuscript another example showing the interdependence and interchangeability of techniques in mediaeval oriental art. The second point derives from the elements used by Dr. Rice

in comparing the designs of K. 16 with other works of art. The interesting fact here is that the comparative material for a work of the year 1000, probably Baghdad, ranges from the paintings of Nishapur in eastern Persia to those of Kairouan in Tunisia. The dependence of Egyptian and North African art on the art of Iraq is well known, especially for the ninth century, but this manuscript shows also that there was an impact of what might really be called the "imperial art of the 'Abbāsids" of Mesopotamia over the eastern part of the empire. Thus appears once more, above local schools and tendencies, the fundamental unity of Islamic art in the early Middle Ages, not only a unity of aesthetic values but also a similarity in the usage of the smallest units of decoration.

The presentation and the reproductions are excellent. There are few misprints. The only criticism that could be made is that the reader who does not know Arabic may be confused at times as to which reproduction is *a* and which is *b* on some plates. For instance, on pl. x the image to the left is *a*, if one follows the reference to its inscription on p. 19, but *b* if one follows the description on the same page; on pl. ix it is the image to the right which is *a*, while on pl. xii, it is again the image to the left. But this is a minor matter, and while one may make a small reservation as to whether the manuscript can be definitively attributed to Ibn al-Bawwāb, one cannot but be thankful to Dr. Rice for having brought to light a beautiful and rare example of Arabic penmanship and illumination from a period that is little known and yet so important, and for having accompanied his publication of the manuscript with comments on history, epigraphy, art history, and text criticism which will be all the more useful since they are based almost exclusively on unpublished or very little known works, and since they open new vistas in a still obscure period of Islamic art.

OLEG GRABAR
University of Michigan

ALAN GOWANS, *Church Architecture in New France*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1955. Pp. 162; 51 pls. \$8.00.

In the preface of the fine work which he has just published—*Church Architecture in New France*—Mr. Alan Gowans pays tribute to those who aided him in his research on this unusually difficult subject. For my part, I accept with pleasure the sentiments of gratitude which he expresses toward me with such graciousness and urbanity.

I have said that it is a difficult subject—even perilous, I might add. I undertook to treat it more than a quarter of a century ago, but had to abandon the project for reasons which are no doubt insufficient: exacting research and lack of spare time. When, in 1947, I saw that a young scholar—intelligent, systematic, and imbued with enthusiasm for the work—was attacking the same subject with the intention of bringing it to a successful conclusion, I was glad to assist him and to place

at his disposal the confused but enormous mass of documents contained in the *Inventaire des oeuvres d'art* of the province of Quebec.

In these art archives there are undoubtedly manuscript copies and thousands of photographs. There are also the elements of a bibliography which, together with those published in 1930 and 1939 by Mr. Antoine Roy, Archivist of the Province, has been of great use to Mr. Gowans from the beginning of his research.

Thus the author of *Church Architecture in New France* was able to acquire, in a rather joyous manner, his profound knowledge of the techniques and forms of bygone days. And, like a fine architect, he has ordered his material with a rigorous logic and an innate sense of form.

I would gladly congratulate Mr. Gowans on this accomplishment, were he not already above my praise by reason of his knowledge and mastery. He should know, however, that French Canada owes him a debt of infinite gratitude for having acquainted us, with so much love and erudition, with an architecture which we were in the process of forgetting, for the excellent reason that it has almost entirely disappeared. Disasters, normal development of the country, and also a certain taste for fashion have weighed heavily against the religious architecture of the French Regime. Nevertheless, Mr. Gowans, in a very well organized chronological table, retraces the avatars of our early religious monuments with a richness of detail that does him honor.

The main divisions of Mr. Gowans' work are as follows: 1) The Heroic Age (1608-1665). 2) The Age of Laval (1665-1700). 3) New France Becomes Canadian (1700-1760). Chronological divisions are generally imperfect. But here they seem to me to be well adapted to our civil and social history, at any rate to the activity of certain men such as the Intendant Jean Talon, Mgr. de Laval, and the architect Jean Maillou. Behind these men one feels the constant influence of a powerful religious order of the time, the Récollets. Whence two types of church: *à la récollette* and *à transept*. The former prevailed over the latter during the French Regime, but after 1760, under the influence of Mgr. Briand, the transept church supplanted the *récollette* church. Finally there was constituted, in detail as well as in ensemble, an essentially Canadian religious style, of which the finest examples today are the churches of Saint Mathias, Lacadie, Saint Jean Port Joli and Lotbinière.

In his work Mr. Gowans dwells at great length on a difficult problem, that of the origin of certain architectural forms in the churches of the French Regime. With respect to their planning, I have already indicated the influence of the Récollets, for it can hardly be denied. But with regard to certain architectural motifs, such as the *clocher*, where is one to find the prototype? Certainly not in Normandy nor in Brittany, for in the seventeenth century these two provinces built few churches; nor in Poitou, though this province has provided us with models of retables, and even with the sculptors, such as the Baillairgés; nor in

Île-de-France, although one must here except certain monuments of Paris. A recent trip to France permitted me to zigzag through Burgundy, and there I discovered the origin of our *clochers* with one or two lanterns. Let me make myself clear: I saw no *clocher* which had the identical curved gable of the memorial chapel of St. Anne de Beaupre (1696) or of the Séminaire de Québec (1679). But I noted obvious relationships in the silhouette, in the general design and even in the detail of the timberwork. These Burgundian *clochers* do not always cap church towers, but are also to be found on the corner turrets of chateaux, on monastery kitchens, and even on city gates. Thus, at Auxerre, Avallon, Saulieu, Vézelay, and Autun, I admired the lanterns of *clochers* and towers which reminded me of the finest works left to us by our architects.

I should like to leave it to the readers of *Church Architecture in New France* to discover for themselves the beauties of Mr. Gowans' work. And yet, in spite of myself, I cannot pass over in silence the reliability of his sources, the simplicity of his account, the ingenuity of his interpretations, and above all the nicety of his impressions and of his taste. I spoke just now of joy. One feels it throughout Mr. Gowans' work. He has loved his subject, has thrown himself into it like a swimmer into deep water, and has mastered it with a perception and a virtuosity which leave me thoughtful. Erudition is disappearing, claim the gloomy souls. Ah no! It is simply growing rare. And when, in *Church Architecture in New France*, one encounters it flowing fully and freely, one greets it with a deep bow and unstinting encouragement.

GÉRARD MORISSET
Société royale du Canada
Musée de la province, Québec

HENRY V. S. OGDEN and MARGARET S. OGDEN, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1955. Pp. 224; 166 figs. \$15.00.

We have Shaftesbury's word for it that by 1712 people often said of certain kinds of natural scenery: "Tis as if it were painted." (The Platonist in Shaftesbury disapproved of "the common phrase"—"for when nature herself paints [as sometimes in wantonness and as it were luxuriantly] she ought not to be imitated: not the picture, but herself only [her pure self] copied.") Clearly a way of looking at landscape that we are apt to regard as of more recent growth was already established; and reflection will suggest that it hardly could have been established if the appreciation of landscape painting was as much of a novelty in England at the time as most historians of art and of taste have been content to assume.

In *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century* Professor and Mrs. Ogden set out, in their own words, "to answer two questions: What was the extent of the vogue of landscape pictures in England during the seventeenth century, and what kind of land-

scapes were admired?" In fact they have gone rather further, and have given some answers to the question: What was admired in the landscapes which were admired in seventeenth century England? These answers, it seems to me, are the most generally interesting and the most important things that Professor and Mrs. Ogden have to offer. But before we turn to them it will be proper to describe the scheme of the work.

The fact that the word landscape was first used in England in Richard Haydocke's translation of Lomazzo, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Painting, Carvinge, & Buildinge* (1598), together with the remarks on landscape in the anonymous late sixteenth century manuscript "A short Treatise of Perspective," some landscape backgrounds in sixteenth century portraits and a handful of sixteenth century topographical drawings, leads the authors to open with a short chapter on the status of landscape painting in England in the late sixteenth century. The seventeenth century is divided by them for the purposes of their subject into three parts—the period 1600-1649, the Commonwealth, and the period 1660-1700. The first and third of these periods receive six chapters each, while the Commonwealth is given a single chapter. The order of treatment of the subject matter in the first and third sections is the same: the authors begin in either case with the vogue of landscape as revealed by the art treatises of the period in question and go on to consider, chapter by chapter, the inventories and auction catalogues, miscellaneous evidence such as book illustrations, the artists (dead or alive) whose landscapes were sought after and those who were active in England at the time, ideal landscape and the qualities appreciated in it, and taste in topographical landscape. In the chapter on the Commonwealth they discuss the printed treatises, the notebooks of the collector Richard Symonds, book illustrations, and the growing use of landscapes in overmantels and overdoors; in the light of what they have to tell us under the first three heads their separation of the decade of the Commonwealth from the longer periods preceding and following it is seen to be fully justified.

Professor and Mrs. Ogden have no difficulty in proving that a taste for landscape painting was indeed a ponderable element in the artistic culture of seventeenth century England: they are even able to demonstrate its importance statistically, as when they point out that the percentage of landscapes in the Commonwealth sale catalogue of the Royal Collection is not much less than half that of landscapes in the National Gallery in London today, or when they find it necessary to discuss over forty artists working in England between 1660 and 1700 who devoted themselves wholly or partly to landscape—a figure of which they observe that "it is possible that, considering the small population of England under the late Stuarts, there were proportionately more landscape painters at work then than there have been at any time since." In the first half of the century the taste was catered to in the main by the landscapes of (or engravings after) Italianate northerners such as Elsheimer, Brill, and Breenbergh, and those of

the contemporary Flemings, such as Jan Brueghel, Joos de Momper, Roelandt Savery and—to a much lesser degree—Rubens; Inigo Jones' drawings for masque scenery and Van Dyck's landscape sketches were too special in purpose and limited in circulation to affect it much. What is noteworthy in view of the later history of English collecting is the total absence of pictures by Nicholas Poussin, Gaspar Dughet, and Salvator Rosa; however, two pictures were commissioned by an Englishman from Claude Lorraine in ca. 1644. After the Restoration the range is enormously extended, and the Dutch painters who depicted their native landscape make their entry—an entry portentous for the future of English taste. On the literary side, the last forty years of the century saw the appearance of books for the connoisseur, by Evelyn, Lodge, Aglionby, Marshall Smith, and Richard Graham, alongside those in the older tradition of the practical treatise.

No one, I imagine, would claim that the English art treatises of the seventeenth century are among the most stimulating kinds of reading, and the habit of plagiarism was deeply enough ingrained in their authors to save most of them from any suspicion of originality. (Professor and Mrs. Ogden note no less than six books that take their material from Edward Norgate's manuscript "Miniatura or the Art of Limning" of 1649, and the works of Haydocke and Peacham were borrowed from only a little less freely.) Their value in the context of the present study is in their statement of aesthetic principles whose general acceptance can be verified from other literary sources. In the first half of the century the chief of these principles, so far as landscape was concerned, was variety. The authors quote Sir Philip Sidney's praise of a view in the *Arcadia* as "diversified betwene hills and dales, woods and playnes, one place more cleere, and the other more darksome" as an example of the feeling for variety in 1590, and from the other end of the period Sir William Davenant's remark in the preface from *Gondibert* (1650) that when painters paint landscapes they do not entertain "the Eye wholly with even Prospect and a continued Flat, but for variety terminate the sight with lofty Hills"; and in between they give us Peacham's statement of a variegated view that "this kind of all other is most pleasing because it feedeth the eie with varietie" (1606), Junius' that "Nature . . . exerciseth the right of her most powerfull government after so licentious a manner, as if shee would have us know that it fitteth her best to delight her selfe somewhat in the varietie of things" (1638), and Norgate's that "nothing more in Art or Nature" affords "soe great variety and beautie as beholding the farre distant Mountaines and strange scituation of ancient Castles mounted on almost inaccessible Rocks" (1649).¹ Next to variety, and no doubt (as the authors point out) to be regarded as a special kind of variety, came contrast. The fullest statements of this principle are to be found in Arthur Golding's *Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* (1587)

and Sir John Denham's *Cooper's Hill* (1642); the art treatises are less explicit. In concluding their discussion of the subject the authors write: "Although many other expressions of the principles of variety and contrast are to be found in English writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these texts give some notion of the prevalence of the two ideas and illustrate how they were taken for granted as more or less 'self-evident' truths. The painters in whom we are interested did not, presumably, read any of the texts cited here. But the ideas were part of the climate of opinion on the Continent and in England, and they were the unquestioned presuppositions of European landscapists, wherever they worked, as well as of connoisseurs and picture buyers." Without questioning the truth of the last sentence, one may wonder whether the principles of variety and contrast were not embraced in England with a special fervor. At least it is undeniable that they have played an exceptionally large part in English aesthetic theory of later times. And it may be that they would be found to account for certain developments in arts other than landscape painting in seventeenth century England—in architecture, perhaps, and in tomb sculpture.

In the landscapes admired after the Restoration the authors find a certain diminution of interest in the principles of variety and contrast—"a noticeable development toward simplicity in subject matter and toward a kind of structural pattern in which the antithesis of near and far was diminished"—and the addition of the horrific and the dramatic to the range of moods, among which "the mood of diffused well-being" continued to be preponderant. They comment upon the great significance of the breaking down of the distinction between topographical and ideal landscape, both for the history of landscape painting and for the appreciation of natural scenery. What they do not point out is that in England the distinction was finally broken down, not in landscape painting but (one might fairly say) in topography—in the period when a man might set out, in Addison's words, "to make a pretty landskip of his whole possessions"; as Waterhouse has put it, "in a sense, the greatest English landscapes of the [eighteenth] century are not the works of Lambert or Wilson or Gainsborough, but the gardens of Rousham (as they once were) and of Stourhead (as they are today)."² Professor and Mrs. Ogden are disappointed that it cannot be held that the vogue of landscape in England was different in kind or in extent from that on the Continent. "One would like to believe that the nation which produced Constable and Wordsworth one hundred years later was original in its taste for landscape in the seventeenth century." They look too far ahead: there is much in their book that gains in interest and significance when seen as part of the prelude to the landscape gardening movement of the eighteenth century. (One notices with a shock of surprise that even some of the accessories are here: the vignette repro-

1. The italics in these quotations are the reviewer's.

2. E. K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790*,

London and Baltimore, 1953, p. 115. In fact the gardens of Rousham are much as Kent left them.

duced from Peacham's *The Art of Drawing with the Pen and Limning in Water Colours* is like nothing so much as an engraving of an artificial Gothic ruin in some eighteenth century park from an eighteenth century guidebook.)

Professor and Mrs. Ogden are so widely read in the literature of their subject that one hesitates to question their generalizations without being able to adduce a formidable mass of supporting evidence. Nevertheless, I cannot help wondering whether they are altogether correct in their view that the seventeenth century felt that there was no antithesis between the natural and the artificial, that the two went together in perfect harmony, while the eighteenth century's attitude was usually the opposite. Against the first part of this view one may quote Francis Bacon: "If that great workmaster [God] had been of a human disposition, he would have cast the stars into some pleasant and beautiful works and orders, like the frets in the roofs of houses; whereas one can scarce find a posture in square, or triangle, or straight line, amongst such an infinite number; so differing an harmony there is between the Spirit of Man and the Spirit of Nature."³ May it not be that buildings were seen by the seventeenth century in landscapes as an element of contrast—of the strongest kind of contrast, indeed, that the artist could introduce? As for the eighteenth century, the truth is surely that classical buildings, at least, were felt to be an expression of the inherent harmony of nature as it had been perceived by, or even revealed to, the ancients—an attitude stated in terms of literature by Pope in the line, "Nature and Homer were, he found, the same."

Here and there the authors may have missed something which would have further illumined their subject: for instance, Anthony Wood's reference in 1653 to "a melancholy delight in taking a prospect" of the ruin of Eynsham Abbey, which could "instruct the pensive beholder with an exemplary frailty," suggests a moralistic reason for the popularity of ruin pieces that is not mentioned in their pages. Here and there, inevitably, there may be errors of fact: for instance, Coleshill is in Berkshire, not in Epping Forest, and it belonged to Sir George Pratt, not to the Earl of Norwich (whose house, visited by Evelyn in 1669, not in 1670, was Forest House, Leyton).⁴ But such shortcomings are far outweighed by the positive contributions that the book makes to our knowledge and understanding; it is a book to which students of the history of art and taste in seventeenth century England will find themselves increasingly indebted as time goes on. At the same time many will wish that the University of Michigan Press had not seen fit to submit the reader to the weariness of a double-column text page, and that most of the illustrations had been reproduced four times the size they are, and printed at least twice as clearly.

MARCUS WHIFFEN
Colonial Williamsburg

3. *Advancement of Learning*, edited by Thomas Case, London and New York, 1906, p. 143.

4. See p. 100 and p. 103 n. 40. In fairness to the authors it

YVONNE HACKENBROCH, *Meissen and Other Continental Porcelain, Faience and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (for the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1956. Pp. 264; 116 pls.; 43 color pls. \$25.00.

YVONNE HACKENBROCH, *Chelsea and Other English Porcelain, Pottery and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (for the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1957. Pp. 286; 100 pls.; 47 color pls. \$25.00.

SIEGFRIED DUCRET, *Unknown Porcelain of the 18th Century*, translated by John Hayward, Frankfurt on the Main, Lothar Woeller Verlag, 1956. Pp. 142; 69 pls.; 5 color pls. \$9.00.

Clearly, the same predisposition that makes a man a lover of fine ceramics gives him a sure taste for other fine things in life, among them books; how else are we to account for the fact that books on porcelains seem to be consistently among the most handsome books published? The books under review are outstanding specimens of the publisher's craft in design, typography, paper, binding, and quality of reproductions, no less than in their contents. Would that we could more often say this!

Good catalogues are basic tools for the art historian's work; and in few periods are the so-called minor arts so central to an adequate understanding of an artistic epoch as during the eighteenth century; so it is good not only to have these superb catalogues of the Untermyer Collection of ceramics, but to know that they are the first two of a series that will cover all of one of the great private collections of the decorative arts: *English Furniture; Needlework, Tapestry and Textiles*; and *Silver, Bronze, Metalwork and Sculpture* are to follow. Judge Untermyer's foreword to the first volume reveals a change in plan that took place during its preparation, by which all 240 items in this group, rather than just a selection, are illustrated. It is to be hoped that the same scheme will be feasible for all the volumes, for the world of connoisseurship gains enormously thereby, especially when the plates are as handsome and accurate as these, both in color and in monochrome.

In this first volume, Dr. Hackenbroch's short introduction precedes the plates, which in turn are followed by the very fully documented catalogue and a brief but judiciously selected bibliography. All of these are impeccable (although the proofreading, unfortunately, is not; see below). The introduction in particular is a model of its kind, since it summarizes what is known about the various factories, their work, their artists, and the importance of this new technique in its own world—all this in a clear and accurate fashion that stands out all the more by contrast with the repetitious standard surveys of the subject, where the only original contri-

should be noted that de Beer's edition of Evelyn's *Diary* (Oxford, 1955) was not yet published when they wrote.

butions are the personal predilections, usually crochety, of their authors.

The catalogue entries are also models. Each entry includes, where known, the following items: title; description, with dimensions; attribution, date, and artist or artists; provenance; exhibitions; bibliography; comments; and an annotated list of similar models in other collections, sales, etc. These are arranged according to factory, in the following sequence (the numbers covered under each heading give some idea of the proportion of works represented; of course some catalogue numbers include more than one object): Meissen, 1-150; Vienna, 141-167 (du Paquier) and 168-170 (State Factory); Höchst, 171-180; Berlin, 181-182; Nymphenburg, 183-185; Frankenthal, 186; Ansbach, 187-189; Ludwigsburg, 190-193; Kelsterbach, 194-195; Fulda, 196-198. In Italy, Venice, 199-202; Doccia, 203-204; and Capo di Monte, 205-211. In Spain, continuing the sequence from Capo di Monte, Buen Retiro, 212-217. In France, Mennecy, 218; St.-Cloud, 219; Chantilly, 220; Sèvres, 221-222; and Niderviller, 223. Of the faïence, there is one piece from Calabria, perhaps Squillace, 224; from Milan, 225; Berlin, 226 (a piece of Funcke's stoneware of ca. 1715, imitating Böttger's red ware at Meissen; the latter is not represented); Brunswick, 227; Nuremberg, 228; and Delft, 229-232. Of enamels, Vienna, 233; Berlin, 234-236; Holland, 237-239; and Italy, 240.

In arranging any catalogue, the problem of sequence is always a difficult one. In this case, it arose primarily within the Meissen group, which is subdivided according to subject matter, more or less arbitrarily assigned: bird subjects, chinoiserie, crinoline figures and groups, Italian Comedy subjects, miscellaneous figures, pastoral subjects, satirical subjects, vases, and, finally, articles of utility. As can be seen, this sequence is purely alphabetical, perhaps as reasonable a system as any, provided that neither chronology nor authorship is to be used as a basis—and the difficulties in the way of the latter solutions are tremendous. On the other hand, it is difficult to see why this arrangement, once established, was not carried over into the other groups beside the Meissen, some of which are large enough to warrant it.

There is the further difficulty that assignment of a piece to one of these groups is sometimes conventional rather than a matter of strict reason: distinctions between crinoline figures and those from the Comedy are often hard to sustain (when is a Meissen group satirical and when is it not?); and it is difficult to see why a beaker vase is not an article of utility, when a beaker is. However, since the material is clearly organized and fully and accurately presented so that any piece is quickly and easily located, all the basic requirements of a good working catalogue are present. One feature to which we take exception, however, is the over-elaborate numbering system. In the introduction, pieces are referred to as "Numbers" in the catalogue; but in the catalogue and the plates, the same pieces are listed as "Figures." In addition, perhaps because of this double system of designation, or a change in sequence made during the preparation of the book, there are incorrect references

in both the introduction and the catalogue. No mistakes were found in the plates. But on p. xvi, line 11 from the bottom, for example, Reinicke's Italian Comedy figures are nos. 64 and 65, *not* 63 and 64; and in line 9 from bottom, Ehder's birds are nos. 2, 5 and 21, *not* 2, 6 and 21. The Höchst section has suffered most in this respect. On p. xx, the following require correction: line 12 from bottom, the date is obviously 1750, *not* 1850; line 4 from bottom, no. 171, *not* 180; last line, no. 174, *not* 173.

Similarly in the catalogue, we note the following corrections: on p. 134, line 4 from bottom, Louis XV, *not* Louis XI; p. 144, figure 134 is illustrated on plate 89, *not* plate 59; p. 155, figure 157 is on plate 86, *not* 87; p. 162, last line, date presumably is 1735, *not* 1753. In the Höchst section, another difficulty occurs: plates 113 and 114, on which are illustrated figures 172 (p. 180), 178 (p. 186), 179 (p. 187) and 180 (p. 188), are *not* in color as the catalogue states. Finally, on p. 243, figure 231, a Delft tile believed to have been part of a set made for William and Mary's new building at Hampton Court should date from the end of the seventeenth century rather than the eighteenth.

Such corrections as we have endeavored to make here are not meant to imply any depreciation of the excellence of this splendid publication. Although not intended to provide a survey of its field, this book would serve well as an introduction to this fascinating and truly central aspect of eighteenth century art; and it will serve for years to come as a working tool for all interested in its subject. The Metropolitan Museum is to be congratulated for bringing it into existence (as it is for the benefactions which the catalogue represents); we may look forward to succeeding volumes to complete a work that, in its entirety, will provide probably the greatest detailed survey of the decorative arts of the post-Renaissance to be published in our time.

The second volume of the catalogues of the Untermyer Collection, appearing promptly after the first, continues the very high standard set by its predecessor in appearance and content, if anything in more sumptuous a way, with still more color plates, including two folding-plates, that permit the reader to examine from all sides two of the most important items in the Collection: the Chelsea "Chinese Musicians" of the Red Anchor period (no. 39, pls. 29-31), and the Worcester garniture of three covered vases (no. 303, pls. 113-115) with decoration attributed to Jeffrey Hamet O'Neale. As in the preceding volume, every catalogue entry is represented in the illustrations; also as in the preceding volume, the slightly ambiguous term "Figure" is used to refer to an item in the catalogue that is cited, and more correctly in our opinion, as "Number" in the introduction.

The Introduction to this volume is, if possible, even better than that to the Meissen volume; covering a more restricted area and period, it supplies a most informative and judicious survey of the current state of knowledge, which, despite much assiduous research, still has large gaps, particularly with regard to the

smaller factories. But the hand of a careless editor may be detected in one or two places: all references to items in the first volume in the introduction are incorrect, perhaps implying that the introduction was written before the catalogue of Volume I had been set in its final form: on p. xxi, line 8 from the bottom, read "I, no. 103," not "no. 112"; and on p. xxix, line 7 from the top, read "I, nos. 221-222," not "nos. 252-253." Another editorial rearrangement may account for the mention on p. xxii of "Tebo, the repairer and modeller whose name, referred to earlier . . .," whereas the actual discussion of Tebo or Thibaud takes place later, on p. xxiii. Typographical errors, on the other hand, are few and in no case endanger the sense.

As in the case of the Continental porcelain, the Untermyer English collection concentrates on one factory: although the preponderance of Chelsea pieces is somewhat exaggerated by the large quantity of "toys"—miniature figures frequently copying larger models—from this factory. Of the 346 entries of "Figures" in the catalogue, 238 are from Chelsea, of which 162 are "toys"; 30 pieces are from Bow, 24 from Derby, then 4 Bristol, 7 Worcester, 2 Longton Hall, 2 Plymouth, 1 Nantgarw, and 1 Chinese export porcelain. There are three pieces of Staffordshire pottery, five Battersea enamels, 28 South Staffordshire enamels, and one piece of Bristol enameled glass. As a note on p. vii indicates, the full-size Chelsea material is arranged chronologically, because of the clear sequence provided by the marks at that factory; otherwise, the arrangement according to subject matter used in Volume I is followed.

Thanks to the quality of the plates, we can even gain a sense of the contrast between the character of English porcelains, largely of soft-paste, and the hard-paste Continental products. The English manufacturers depended heavily upon Continental models, however, as Miss Hackenbroch has amply indicated in her article, "Meissen Porcelain and Copies of the Eighteenth Century. From the Collection of Judge Untermyer," *Connoisseur*, CXXXVII, 1956, pp. 149ff. Sources are fully accounted for in the catalogue. Models were adapted from all over the continent, so that often the result was an adaptation of an adaptation, as when copying an orientalizing Meissen piece or one following an engraving after Watteau. Similarly, the English factories did their best to copy successful Continental styles and even colors, such as their Mazarin blue and their "claret" red from Sevres.

All these adaptations were executed in soft-paste porcelain until about 1768, when William Cookworthy took out a patent for hard-paste at his Plymouth factory, transferring it in 1770 to Bristol. The economic basis of English manufacturing was always precarious, partly because of the absence of any official patronage such as usually kept the Continental factories going, and partly because their activities usually depended upon the drive of one key individual. Thus, the fortunes of Chelsea fluctuated with the state of health of Nicholas Sprimont, its manager; and the entire production of Battersea enamels was concentrated in three short years, until its backer, Alderman Janssen, went bankrupt—after which

time its processes were copied with great success, technical and financial, by other factories, largely in Staffordshire.

Withal the English products have a distinctive charm of their own, and often an individuality, especially in the earliest period, before 1750—a period that the few early items in the Untermyer Collection help to clarify. In addition, even at later times individual pieces of great beauty and complete originality were created: outstanding examples being the Red Anchor "Chinese Musicians" and the decoration of the Worcester Garniture, both mentioned above, for which no precedent, even in conception, is known.

It is obvious that Judge Untermyer has a particularly strong feeling for the English porcelains, so that his collection has a highly personal character. Thus, there is no effort to obtain an absolutely "representative" selection of everything produced. For example, the quantity of Chelsea toys is enormous, but there are very few toys from the Continental factories that originated the fashion. Just as with the Continental part of his collection, Judge Untermyer is not greatly interested in plates or services as such, but concentrates on figures and garnitures showing the modeler's art as well as that of the decorator to fullest advantage. This taste is a sure one, directed toward the qualities which make eighteenth century porcelain a true art. These are the qualities by which, in the face of the Industrial Revolution and the other revolutions of the latter part of the century, the early porcelain was designed to appeal to the aristocratic taste for beauty and elegance, rather than to the utilitarian needs of a broader society. It is easy to see that as the aristocratic tradition fades the collector's interest (and ours) wanes.

These two catalogues, despite the disclaimers of their prefaces, form a true survey of the very finest productions of their kind, as well as a monument of scholarship, and will have permanent value for the study and appreciation of what was, for a few decades, a major art form.

Ducret's *Unknown Porcelain of the 18th Century*, as we have already remarked, is an equally handsome publication in its own way, but it is of a more limited interest than the Untermyer Collection catalogues. It appears in identical format with G. W. Ware's *German and Austrian Porcelain*, issued by the same publisher (also in both German and English editions) in 1951; it has been ably and accurately translated by John Hayward of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The two minor misprints we noticed were insignificant, and did not affect the sense of the work; all in all, unless one wishes to cavil at what appears to have been the use of the retoucher's brush to heighten a few of the monochrome plates, this is another splendid example of book production.

Dr. Ducret of Zurich has made a reputation for connoisseurship in recent years through the publication of numerous articles on porcelain, and some books on the production at individual factories. His method is judicious and usually sound, featuring a remarkable com-

mand of the documentary information available on the activities of the various artists involved in making the wares; this he is able to apply for the identification of obscure marks, as a supplement to a generally sound sense of individual styles. In solving any specific problem, he is usually able to bring to bear all these various approaches, to arrive at a convincing solution. The present work is a series of exercises in this technique, a collection of short articles linked (as the title indicates) by the fact that they deal with unpublished or reattributed pieces of eighteenth and early nineteenth century porcelain, rather than a fully developed and unified book on the subject of the more obscure factories and the artists and arcanists who served them.

Ducret's essays attribute works, often for the first time, to the following factories: Würzburg, Utzmemmingen-Ellwangen, Höxter (on more tenuous grounds than usual), and Sulzbach. At two places mentioned in the literature, Schönbornslust near Coblenz and Popelsdorf near Bonn, he seeks to prove that in fact no true porcelains were ever made. An article on "Unknown Fürstenberg Porcelain" is more a study of the work at that factory of Simon Feilner, supplying a sequence for his early works there in the mid-1750's, and suggesting that Feilner had previously done modeling at Höchst, where the records only show his employment as a decorator between 1750 and 1753. Other painters and modelers discussed are Sabina Hosennestel-Auffenwerth of Augsburg, Adam Friedrich von Löwenfinck (the subject of two short essays), Augustin Dietze, B. G. Hauer, J. G. Pforr, and C. W. Boehme. A concluding section on attributions includes an intriguingly brief piece on "Fakes and Expertises."

The only objection that can be brought in seriousness to this book is the regret that Dr. Ducret has not gone a little further, in view of his extensive knowledge, in developing, linking, and pointing up his discoveries so as to make an important work of art history out of a very fine series of exercises in connoisseurship. Particularly suggestive are his studies of some of the individual personalities involved, which could most helpfully have been developed into full-fledged artistic biographies. Such biographies are sorely needed.

It is a curious fact that while we have a fairly clear picture of the work of men like Kändler and Heroldt and even Bustelli, who worked entirely or largely at one factory, we have little or no collected information on the work of the peripatetic artists and craftsmen who moved from place to place in the course of their careers. In part this is doubtless a result of the fact that virtually all intensive studies to date have been in terms of production sites, not of individual artists. And it is doubtless true that there is a greater homogeneity in the total production of, say, Höchst, than there are differences in the work of the various artists (nearly all of the important peripatetics) who worked there. Yet Ducret's own work has proven that the characteristic style of one modeler or painter of distinction can in fact be followed from place to place.

We suspect that there is another reason why these

men have been neglected; it is another case where criteria of pseudo-ethics or even "morality," however misapplied or inappropriate, have intruded upon the consideration of aesthetic problems. The manufacture of porcelain was the last achievement, one of the few concrete ones, of the mediaeval alchemists: Böttger was supposed to be looking for the Philosopher's Stone when he discovered his stoneware instead. Once production of the new ware was a material fact, its manufacturers had two choices open to them: to continue a very limited production by means that could be kept secret through the use of a carefully controlled small group of workmen; or to go after rapid commercial success, involving large production and the inevitable exposure of its secrets that the involvement of large numbers of people made certain.

The directors at Meissen, and subsequently those of the other factories where the manufacture of porcelain was attempted, sought to have the best of both worlds, the mediaeval and the modern; porcelain was too obvious a commercial attraction to be produced only for a tiny circle of unprofitable patrons—yet they could not conceive of making the principles of its manufacture generally available. So its secret spread instead through the hair-raising adventures of unprincipled apprentices like Löwenfinck, or fugitive arcanists such as Benckgraff—as well as through complete charlatans such as Stadelmayer, whose activities Ducret so amusingly describes. The principles of mediaeval economics could no longer operate in the Age of Enlightenment (and of the Industrial Revolution).

That their contemporaries should have condemned the runaway apprentices who betrayed the secrets of Böttger is hardly surprising. Yet the entrepreneurs hastened to acquire their services, whenever they could be bribed to leave one employer for another, and then sought to imprison them to prevent further defection. What is more surprising is that more than one writer of our own day (Dr. Ducret not among them) has taken a tone of smug disapproval at this behavior, even making it a complement of his aesthetic evaluation of the wares under consideration; they even quote one another: "Generally speaking, a breach of faith leads to no good. And yet it was through a breach of contract and disloyalty in many other forms that it was made possible in the 18th century for the art of porcelain to blossom for . . . mankind. . . ." Perhaps the art did blossom but it was truly a malodorous flower which filled the air with stagnation. . . ." Whether before or after the fact, such ethico-aesthetic judgments have played their part in our evaluation of the traveling artists of the porcelain factories.

Whatever the causes, the neglect is clear, and the need obvious. It is to be hoped that Ducret's type of stylistic analysis, applied to tracing the work of individuals rather than factories, may be the next step in the advance of our knowledge of this important field.

JAMES D. BRECKENRIDGE
The Baltimore Museum of Art

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